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LAST DAYS IN ENGLAND

OF

Rajah Rammohun Roy

BY

MARY CARPENTER

(ILLUSTRATED EDITION)

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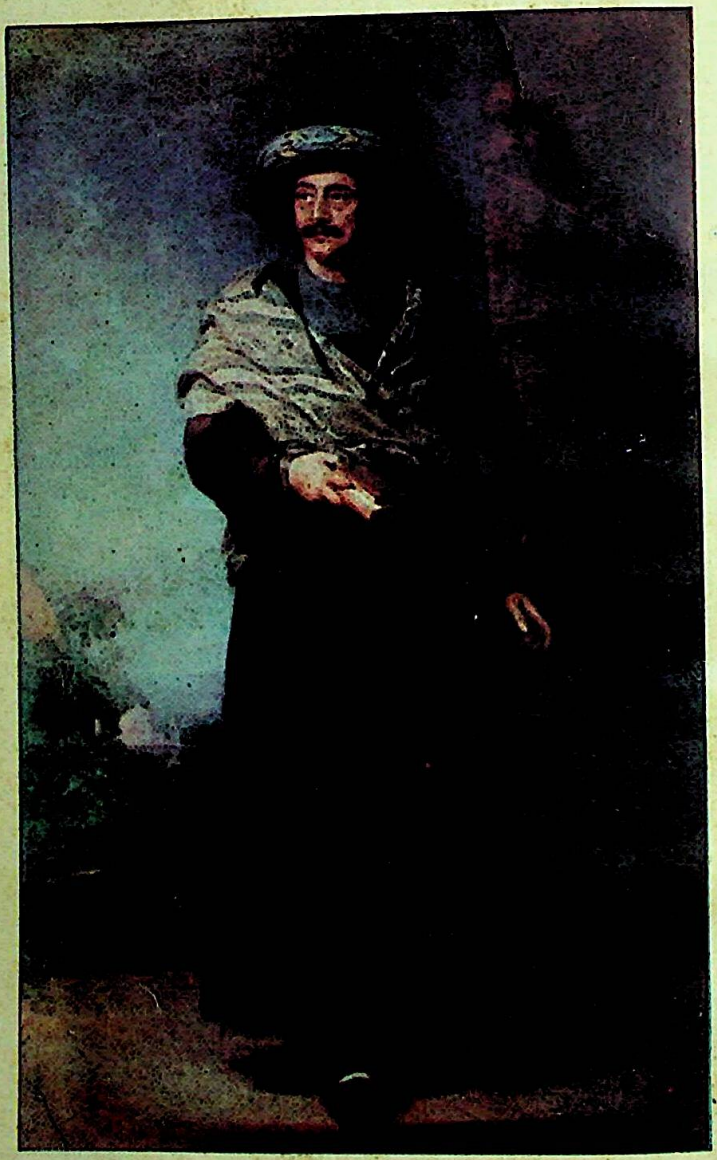

RAJA RAM MOHAN RAY.

From a painting by Briggs in the Bristol Philosophical Institution.

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THE LAST DAYS IN ENGLAND OF THE RAJAH RAMMOHUN ROY.

BY

MARY CARPENTER

OF

BRISTOL,

AUTHOR OF "OUR CONVICTS" "MORNING AND EVENING MEDITATIONS," "SIX MONTHS IN INDIA," ETC., ETC.,

(ILLUSTRATED).

PUBLISHED

BY

THE RAMMOHUN LIBRARY AND FREE READING-ROOM,

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TO THE COUNTRYMEN

OF

THE RAJAH RAMMOHUN ROY,

WHO,

EMANCIPATING THEMSELVES FROM THE THRALDOM

OF IDOLATRY AND SUPERSTITION,

HAVE DEVOTED THEMSELVES

TO PROMOTE THE ELEVATION OF THEIR COUNTRY,

THIS WORK IS INSCRIBED

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Preface.

TO THE FIRST EDITION.

THE Rajah RAMMOHUM ROY was, in the land of his birth a man greatly before his age. He was a light shining in thick darkness,—palpable,—impenetrable by its rays ;—its lustre served only to make the surrounding gloom more visible. Hence he was appreciated during his life by very few of his countrymen, and his death appeared at the time to excite but little regret in India. It was to England that he turned for encouragement, sympathy and help, for Englishmen had shown that they comprehended in some degree the greatness of his spirit, and admired the purity and devotedness of his life. From England, therefore, he sought for aid in his efforts to regenerate his country ;—he hoped after visiting her shores, and

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gathering strength from communion with the wise and good among her citizens, to return to India, armed with fresh power, guided by new light to accomplish the great purpose of his life.

It was otherwise ordered, for the fit time was not come. His earthly warfare was accomplished; —he was permitted to retire from the battle of life, and to lie down to rest where all that was mortal of him would be regarded as a sacred deposit, and where the memorials of his spirit would be honoured and cherished. Long years required to roll by, and many changes to take place in India, before his country should be prepared truly to appreciate the great Reformer.

More than a quarter of a century has now passed and the name of RAMMOHUN ROY begins to be reverenced as it ought to be in his native country. The seed which he sowed was long in germinating, but it never lost its vitality. He who had scattered it with no sparing hand, whether in the highways, in stray places, among thorns and brambles, or in good ground, was not permitted even to see it spring up, but having faithfully done his work, left it in charge of the Great Husbandman. The seed has sprung up and grown, man knoweth not how, "for the earth bringeth forth fruit of herself, first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear." While but a very

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few rallied around their great Reformer in his unwearied efforts to draw away his countrymen from idolatry and superstition, and but one temple then rose among the Hindoos dedicated to the pure worship of one only God,—now there are thousands, and perhaps even tens of thousands who have emancipated themselves from the thraldom of idolatry and superstition, and in many houses of worship is proclaimed "the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man."

The progress of improvement and the chain of events, linked together by the unerring hand of the Supreme Ruler, has led several of RAMMOHUN ROY'S countrymen to follow his example and to visit our shores. Many young Hindoos have come to England to become acquainted with English men and women in their private and public work, and in their homes,—to study our laws and our institutions,—and thus to qualify themselves on their return to India to transplant there what they have found most deserving of imitation among us. It is at the request of some of them that this volume has been prepared. The privilege of paying such a tribute to the memory of so noble and excellent a man, is highly valued by one who knew him personally, and who has always treasured with reverence the recollection not only of his devoted efforts in the cause of religion and

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virtue, but of his estimable qualities and purity of life. She regrets that she cannot make this work more worthy of him, from causes which will appear in the course of the narrative; she hopes, however, that this volume will be kindly received both by his countrymen, and by those who respect his name in England, and that its very deficiencies may give rise to a more complete memoir of him, and lead to a greater knowledge of his works. For this his countrymen are now prepared. The following words of one of them express the sentiments of all who know and respect their greatest man, the Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY :—

"It is now more than fifty years, that, in Bengal, there arose a genius, like a solitary star in a night of darkness, who, in spite of great opposition and persecution, gave the death blow to gross idolatry and superstition, which had degenerated the great Hindoo nation. When we consider the debased state of religion and society in those days, we find that RAMMOHUN ROY was one of those men who have made their appearance from time to time in this world to be the enlighteners of nations, and to protect men from forsaking truth. We can trace the infinite wisdom and mercy of Providence in the fact, that at times, when nations sink in vice and error, individual men are sent, who, by the

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force of their intellect, the purity of their charac ter, and the earnestness of their motives, succeed in bringing men to the paths of virtue and right-eousness. In order to judge rightly of such men, we should carefully consider the times in which they lived, the state of society in which they were brought up, and the obstacles and difficulties which surrounded them;—thus we find RAM-MOHUN ROY to have been, not only a great and good man, but one whom future generations of his countrymen must regard as the FIRST HINDOO REFORMER."

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Preface

TO THE SECOND EDITION.

THE first edition of this work was prepared on the eve of the Author's first visit to India, in 1866. It was hoped that its appearance would stimulate to efforts among the countrymen of the Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY to collect such material as might lead to the preparation of a complete Memoir of one of the most remarkable men and distinguished Reformers whom India and the world has ever produced. These hopes have been disappointed. The time does not appear to have yet arrived when his life and work are fully appreciated in his own country. His works have not been collected and published, and the important evidence which he gave before Parliament still lies entombed in the blue folios. Yet the seed he sowed on an apparently uncongenial soil is now springing up in

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every part of the country. The results he anticipated from English education have been verified. The claims of the female sex, which he so nobly supported, are being extensively acknowledged, and the general progress which has been made in his country during the forty years which have elapsed since his departure, has been far greater than he would have dared to predict. His name should not be forgotten, and imperfect as this small volume is, the present edition of it is respectfully offered to his countrymen, in the hope that it may help to keep alive the memory of the great Reformer, and lead to the publication of his works with a complete memoir.

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Preface

TO THE THIRD EDITION.

The Second Edition of this book was published in London as long ago as 1875 and since the death of Miss MARY CARPENTER, no attempts have been made either in England or in India to bring out a new edition. The author of the book has certainly done a great public service by publishing this book and we think she has left a legacy which our countrymen ought to cherish with sincere love and admiration. It has been very properly remarked that the RAJAH RAMMOHUN ROY was born very much before his time. The interest which is now manifested by our countrymen in the study of the RAJAH'S life and teachings justifies our undertaking the reprint of this most interesting book and presenting it before the public after such a long period. It contains not only a faithful

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account but many remarkable annecdotes of the last days in the life of this epoch-making man. India is now passing through a period of transition and it is our firm conviction that a careful study of the life and teachings of the "Maker of Modern India" will help, in a large measure, the solution of many difficult problems,—social, political, religious, and educational. The authorities of the Rammohun Library and Free Reading-Room, Calcutta, who aim at perpetuating the memory of the great man, feel proud to be associated with the publication of this Third Edition. When the second edition was published, the author expressed her disappointment that the time had not come for a true appreciation of the life and work of the RAJAH by his countrymen. Since then, over 40 years have passed and many great changes have taken place in the political, social and religious thoughts of India. It is a matter of great satisfaction for us to be able to say that the RAJAH's countrymen have now begun to slowly appreciate his worth. His works have been collected and published and the people have been showing a keen desire to understand his true character and the significance of his many-sided views.

In the present edition, we have given a tri-colour portrait of (1) the RAJAH which is a copy taken from the original painting in the Bristol Philosophical

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Institution by Briggs R. A, and half-tone pictures of (2) The Rammohun Memorial Hall and Library in Upper-Circular Road, Calcutta; (3) Raja Rammohun Roy's Calcutta residence in Upper Circular Road; (4) Miss Mary Carpenter; (5) an Autograph letter of the Raja while in England to his eldest son Radhaprosad Roy; (6) Death-Mask of the Raja (kindly presented to us by the late Mr. A. M. Bose's sons.); (7) Fac simile of Funeral Document; (8) Tomb of the Raja in Arno's Vale Cemetry and (9) Prince Dwarka Nath Tagore. We trust these illustrations will prove interesting to the readers.

In this Edition, we have also added a short Biographical sketch of the author of the Book and an extract from the "Visitors' Book" of the Raja's Tomb at Bristol, in Appendices G & H. We regret we cannot give an up-to-date list of the names of Indian visitors who paid their respects to the last remains of the great man. We have asked our friend Mr. P. Banerjea, M. A., who is now studying in England, to supply this gap and it is hoped that in the next edition we shall be able to include this. In addition to these, we have included in Appendix I, a criticism on this book from the pen of the Late Babu Kissory Chand Mittra—the renowned Bengalle journalist and writer—which appeared in the "*Calcutta Review*" in 1866,

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from which our readers will see how Rajah Rammohun Roy's religious views have been vindicated. We veuture to commend to the special attention of the readers that part of the criticism which refers to the religious convictions of the great Hindu Reformer. We are indebted to our friend Mr. Manmatha Nath Ghosh, M. A. F. S. S., F. R. E. S., for this material. In conclusion, we may take the opportunity of expressing our deep sense of obligation to Messrs. U. Roy & Sons, the celebrated Artists of Calcutta, for the assistance rendered to us in the preparation of the various blocks included in this book. We are also indebted to Mr. Sasipada Banerjee of the "Devalaya" and Mr. Hemachandra Ghosha of the Department of Land Records, Bengal for their many valuable suggestions.

The entire sale-proceeds of the present edition of this book will go towards the Building Fund of the Rammohun Library and Free Reading-Room, Calcutta.

RAMMOHUN LIBRARY,
267, Upper Circular Road,
Calcutta, January, 1, 1915.

D. N. PAL,
Honorary Secretary.

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A

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

OF THE

RAJAH RAMMOHUN ROY,

BY THE LATE

REV. DR. LANT CARPENTER,

OF BRISTOL.

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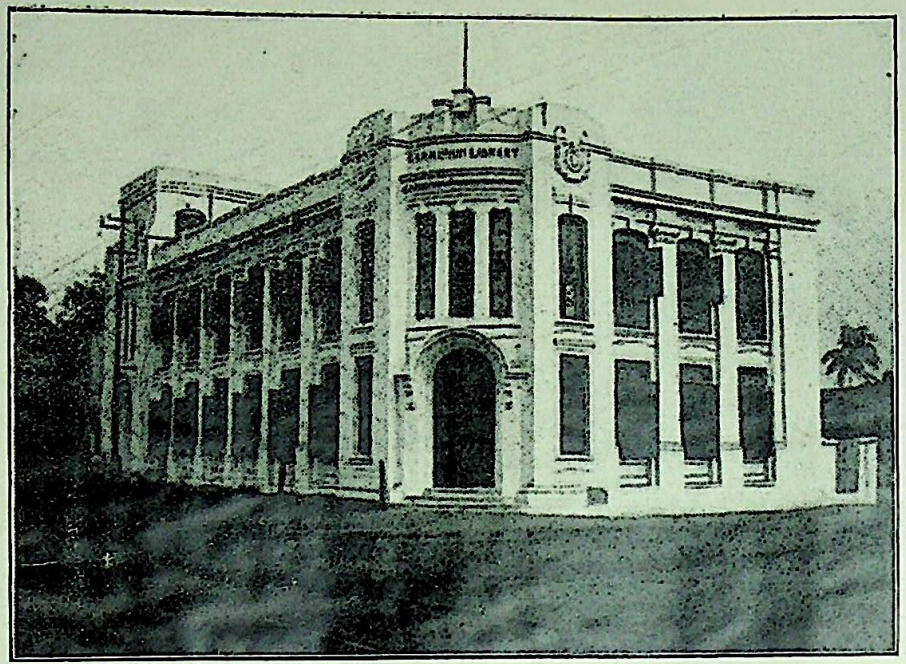

Rammohun Library and Free Reading Room, Calcutta.

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Biographical Sketch.

THIS volume has been prepared solely to embody what is known of the closing period of Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY'S life, which was spent in England. To do more would have been out of the Author's power. It will however be interesting to the readers to peruse the following brief Memoir, which was prepared by Rev. Dr. CARPENTER shortly after the Rajah's death, from authentic sources of information [chiefly found in the "Monthly Repository of Theology and General Literature," Vols. XIII. to XX.] ; from the Memoir prefixed to the "Precepts of Jesus," by Rev. Dr. T. REES ; from communications received from the family with whom the Rajah resided in London, and from the Rajah personally.

RAMMOHUN ROY was the son of RAM KHANT ROY. His grandfather resided at Moorshedabad, and filled some important offices under the Moguls ; but being ill-treated by them towards the end of his life, the son took up his abode in

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the district of Burdwan, where he had landed property. There RAMMOHUN ROY was born, most probably about 1774. Under his father's roof he received the elements of native education, and also acquired the Persian language. He was afterwards sent to Patna to learn Arabic; and lastly to Benares to obtain a knowledge of Sanscrit, the sacred language of the Hindoos. His masters at Patna set him to study Arabic translations of some of the writings of Aristotle and Euclid; it is probable that the training thus given strengthened his mind in acuteness and close reasoning, while the knowledge which he acquired of the Mahommedan religion from Mussulmen whom he esteemed, contributed to cause that searching examination of the faith in which he was educated, which led him eventually to the important efforts he made to restore it to its early simplicity.

His family was Brahminical, of high respectability; and, of course, he was a Brahmin by birth. After his death the thread of his caste was seen round him, passing over his left shoulder and under his right. His father trained him in the doctrines of his sect; but he very early observed the diversities of opinion existing even among the idolators; and that while some exalted Brahma, the Creator, others gave the ascendancy to Vishnu, the Preserver; and others again to Siva, the

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Destroyer. It is scarcely possible, too, but that his mind must have been struck by the simplicity of the Mahommedan faith and worship; and at any rate it early revolted from the frivolous or disgusting rites and ceremonies of Hindoo idolatry. Without disputing the authority of his father, he often sought from him information as to the reasons of his faith. He obtained no satisfaction; and he at last determined, at the early age of fifteen, to leave the paternal home, and to sojourn for a time in Thibet, that he might see another form of religious faith. He spent two or three years in that country, and often excited the anger of the worshippers of the Lama by his rejection of their doctrine that this pretended deity—a living man—was the creator and preserver of the world. In these circumstances he experienced the soothing kindness of the female part of the family; and his gentle, feeling heart dwelt, with deep interest, at the distance of more than forty years, on the recollection of that period; these, he said, had made him always feel respect and gratitude towards the female sex, and they doubtless contributed to that unvarying and refined courtesy which marked his intercourse with them in this country.

When he returned to Hindostan, he was met by a deputation from his father, and received by

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him with great consideration. He appears, from that time, to have devoted himself to the study of Sanscrit and other languages, and of the ancient books of the Hindoos. He had frequent discussions with his father: through awe of him, however, he never avowed the scepticism which he entertained as to the present forms of their religion ; but from some indirect reproaches he received, he imagined that he had fallen under his father's suspicions. His father had given him, for that country, a very superior education ; but having been brought up himself in the midst of the Mussulman Court, he appears to have thought principally of those qualifications which would recommend his son to the ancient conquerors of India. Till manhood, RAMMOHUN ROY knew very little of the English language, and that little he taught himself.

"At the age of twenty-two," says the Editor of the English Edition of the Abridgment of the Vedant and the Cena Upanished, "he commenced the study of the English language, which not pursuing with application, he five years afterwards, when I became acquainted with him, could merely speak it well enough to be understood upon the most common topics of discourse ; but could not write it with any degree of correctness. He was afterwards employed as Dewan, or principal native officer, in the collection of the revenues, in the

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district of which I was for five years Collector in the East India Company's Civil Service. By perusing all my public correspondence with diligence and attention, as well as by corresponding and conversing with European gentlemen, he acquired so correct a knowledge of the English language as to be enabled to write and speak in with considerable accuracy"

The father, RAM KHANT ROY, died about 1804 or 1805, having two years previously divided his property among his three sons. It was not long before RAMMOHUN ROY became the only survivor; and he thereby possessed considerable property. From this period he appears to have commenced his plans of reforming the religion of his countrymen; and in the progress of his efforts to enlighten them he must have expended large sums of money, for he gratuitously distributed most of the works which he published for the purpose. He now quitted Burdwan and removed to Moorshedabad, where he published in Persian, with an Arabic preface, a work entitled "*Against the Idolatry of all Religions.*" No one undertook to refute this book, but it raised up against him a host of enemies, and in 1814 he retired to Calcutta, where he applied himself to the study of the English language both by reading and by conversation; he also acquired some knowledge of Latin, and paid much atten-

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tion to mathematics. At this time he purchased a garden with a house constructed in the European style, in the Circular Road, at the eastern extremity of the city; and he gradually gathered round him inquiring intelligent Hindoos, of rank and opulence, some of whom united as early as 1818 in a species of monotheistic worship.

The body of Hindoo theology is comprised in the Veds, which are writings of very high antiquity, very copious, but obscure in style; and about two thousand years ago, VYAS drew up a compendious abstract of the whole, accompanied with explanations of the more difficult passages. This digest VYAS called the Vedant, or the Resolution of all the Veds. One portion of this respects the ritual, and another, the principles of religion. It is written in the Sanscrit language. RAMMOHUN ROY translated it into the Bengalee and Hindoostanee languages, for the benefit of his countrymen; and afterwards published an abridgment of it, for gratuitous and extensive distribution. Of this abridgment he published an English translation in 1816, the title of which represents the Vedant as "the most celebrated and revered work of Brahminical theology, establishing the unity of the Supreme Being, and that he alone is the object of propitiation and worship." Towards the close of his preface he thus writes—"My constant reflec-

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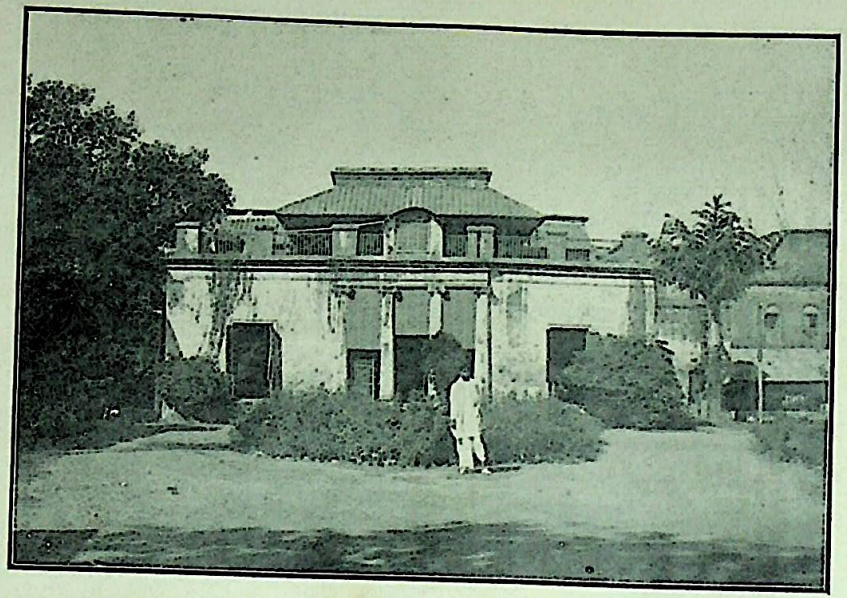

Raja Rammohun Roy's Residence, 113, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.

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tions on the inconvenient, or, rather, injurious rites introduced by the peculiar practice of Hindoo idolatry, which more than any other Pagan worship destroys the texture of society—together with compassion for my countrymen—have compelled me to use every possible effort to awaken them from their dream of error; and by making them acquainted with the [their] scriptures, enable them to contemplate, with true devotion, the unity and omnipresence of nature's God. By taking the path which conscience and sincerity direct, I, born a Brahmin, have exposed myself to the complainings and reproaches even of some of my relations, whose prejudices are strong, and whose temporal advantage depends on the present system. But these, however accumulated, I can tranquilly bear; trusting that a day will arrive when my humble endeavours will be viewed with justice—perhaps acknowledged with gratitude. At any rate, whatever men may say, I cannot be deprived of this consolation—my motives are acceptable to that Being who beholds in secret and compensates openly."

After the publication of the Vedant, RAMMOHUN ROY printed in Bengalee and in English, some of the principal chapters of the Veds. The first of the series was published in 1816, and is entitled "A Translation of the Cena Upanishad, one of the

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Chapters of the Sama Veda, according to the gloss of the celebrated Shancharacarya ; establishing the Unity and Sole Omnipotence of the Supreme Being, and that He alone is the object of Worship." This was prefixed to a reprint of the Abridgment of the Vedant, published in London, in 1817, by some one who had enjoyed personal intimacy with him. The English preface contains a letter from RAMMOHUN ROY to this gentleman, which shows how well he had, even at that time, overcome the difficulties of the English language. "The consequence of my long and uninterrupted researches into religious truth (he says in this letter) has been, that I have found the doctrines of Christ more conducive to moral principles, and better adapted for the use of rational beings, than any other which have come to my knowledge ; and have also found Hindoos in general more superstitious and miserable, both in performance of their religious rites and in their domestic concerns, than the rest of the known nations of the earth." He then proceeds to state what he had done in order to render them "more happy and comfortable both here and hereafter ;." and adds, "I, however, in the beginning of my pursuits, met with the greatest opposition from their self-interested leaders, the Brahmins, and was deserted by my nearest relations ; and I consequently felt extre-

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mely melancholy. In that critical situation, the only comfort that I had was the consoling and rational conversation of my European friends, especially those of Scotland and England." In that same letter he expresses his full expectation of speedily setting off for England; but says that he had been prevented from proceeding so soon as he could wish, by the spread of his views, and the inclination manifested by many to seek for truth.

It is not surprising that the interested advocates for heathen worship should endeavour to uphold it by imputations on the character of the Reformer; and some one did publicly charge him with "rashness, self-conceit, arrogance, and impiety." Every member of his own family opposed him; and he experienced even the bitter alienation of his mother, through the influence of the interested persons around her. In his early days, his mother was a woman of fine understanding; but, through the influence of superstitious bigotry, she had been among his most bitter opponents. He, however, manifested a warm and affectionate attachment towards her, and it was with a glistening eye that he told us she had "repented" of her conduct towards him. Though convinced that his doctrines were true, she could not throw off the shackles of idolatrous customs. "RAMMOHUN," she said to him,

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before she set out on her last pilgrimage to Juggernath, where she died, "you are right, but I am a weak woman, and am grown too old to give up these observances, which are a comfort to me." She maintained them with the most self-denying devotion. She would not allow a female servant to accompany her; or any other provision to be made for her comfort or even support on her journey; and when at Juggernaut, she engaged in sweeping the temple of the idol. There she spent the remainder of her life—nearly a year if not more; and there she died. He recently stated, however, that before her death she expressed her great sorrow for what had passed, and declared her conviction in the unity of God, and the futility of Hindoo superstition.

D' ACOSTA, the editor of a journal at Calcutta, transmitted to the Abbe GREGOIRE, in 1818, the various publications of this extraordinary man, with some account of his history; and through GREGOIRE, RAMMOHUN ROY became extensively known and highly appreciated in France. D'ACOSTA says, that he carefully avoided every thing that could afford a pretext for excluding him from his caste, since, as a Brahmin, it was his acknowledged duty to instruct his countrymen in the sense and real commands of their sacred books. He speaks of him as distinguished

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in his controversy more by his logical mode of reasoning than by his general views, though far from deficient in philosophy or information. He says that all his conversation, his actions, and his manners evince a powerful sentiment of individual dignity, while, in general, meanness and feebleness of mind are characteristic of the Hindoo, and that his ingenious conversation often shows, in a strain half serious and half sportive, all that he wished to be able to do for his country. As to his personal exterior at that period, D'ACOSTA says,—"He is tall and robust; his regular features, and habitually grave countenance assume a most pleasing appearance when he is animated; he appears to have a slight disposition to melancholy." "The moderation," adds Abbe GREGOIRE, "with which he repels the attacks on his writings, the force of his arguments, and his profound knowledge of the sacred books of the Hindoos, are proofs of his fitness for the work he has undertaken; and the pecuniary sacrifices he has made, show a disinterestedness which cannot be encouraged or admired too warmly"

It was about this period that Lieut-Col, FITZCLARENCE, now the Earl of MUNSTER, became acquainted with RAMMOHUN ROY. He speaks highly of this "most extraordinary" Brahmin, of his talents and learning, his intimate knowledge

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of our language and eloquence in the use of it, his extensive acquaintance with our literature as well as with the Arabic and Sanscrit, his clear intelligence of the politics of Europe, and especially of England, of his fine person, and most courtly manners. The representations of the Earl indicate the amazing extent, tenaciousness, and accuracy of his memory; and in this and other respects fully accord with what we learn of him from other sources; the Author was, however, mistaken in supposing that he had been "declared to have lost caste." RAMMOHUN ROY recently stated that every effort had been made for the purpose, and that he had had, at an enormous expense, to defend himself against a series of legal proceedings instituted for the purpose of depriving him of caste, and thereby of his patrimonial inheritance. Through his profound acquaintance, however, with the Hindoo law, he baffled the efforts of his interested enemies, and proved in the Courts of justice that he had not forfeited his rights. These legal proceedings must have continued, in different ways, for several years. They appear to have terminated in the Provincial Court no long time before RAMMOHUN ROY set out for England. On leaving Calcutta, he charged his two sons to forget the conduct of their cousins in connection with them.

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Besides essentially contributing to the establishment and maintenance of native schools, RAMMOHUN ROY directed his efforts, and with great success towards the extinction of the practice of burning widows. One of his tracts on this subject he dedicated to the Marchioness of HASTINGS, when the Marquis was Governor-General.

It has already been shown that as early as 1817 he had directed his attention to the Christian religion ; but he found himself greatly perplexed by the various doctrines which he saw insisted upon as essential to Christianity, in the writings of Christian authors, and in conversation with those Christian teachers with whom he had communication : he resolved, therefore, to study the original Scriptures for himself ; and for this purpose he acquired the knowledge of the Hebrew and Greek languages. Becoming strongly impressed with the excellence and importance of the Christian system of morality, he published, in 1820, in English, Sanscrit, and Bengalee, a series of selections, principally from the first three Gospels, which he entitled, "The Precepts of Jesus, the Guide to Peace and Happiness." He passed by those portions of the Evangelists which have been made the basis of distinctive doctrines ; and also (except where closely interwoven with the discourses of Christ) the narratives of miracles—believing these

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to be less fitted to affect the convictions of his countrymen, while the preceptive part he deemed most likely "to produce the desirable effect of improving the hearts and minds of men of different persuations and degrees of understanding." "This simple code of religion and morality," he says, at the close of his preface, "is so admirably calculated to elevate men's ideas to high and liberal notions of one God, who has equally subjected all living creatures, without distinction of caste, rank or wealth, to change, disappointment, pain and death, and has equally admitted all to be partakers of the bountiful mercies which he has lavished over nature; and is also so well fitted to regulate the conduct of the human race in the discharge of their various duties to God, to themselves, and to society; that I cannot but hope the best effects from its promulgation in the present form."

This work was published anonymously, but without concealment of the source. It brought upon him some severe and unexpected animadversions in "The Friend of India"; the writer of which uncourteously, as well as most unjustly, spoke of the Compiler as a *heathen*. Under the designation of "A Friend to Truth," RAMMOHUN ROY published an appeal to the Christian public in defence of the "Precepts of Jesus"; in which

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he declares, that the expressions employed in the preface should have shown the opponent "that the Compiler believed, not only in one God, whose nature and essence is beyond human comprehension, but in the truths revealed in the Christian system." He further maintains that the "Precepts of Jesus" contain not only the essence of all that is necessary to instruct mankind in their civil duties, but also the best and only means of obtaining the forgiveness of our sins, the favor of God, and strength to overcome our passions and to keep his commandments." He defends the system which the Compiler had adopted to introduce Christianity to the native inhabitants, by appealing to the fact that nearly three-fifths are Hindoos and two-fifths Mussulmans, the latter devoted from their infancy to the belief in one God; and declares that, from his own experience in religious controversy with them, he is satisfied that he was rendering them most service by making them acquainted with those precepts (by which he appears to have meant, more generally, *instructions*) "the obedience to which he believed most peculiarly required of a Christian, and such as could by no means tend in doctrine to excite the religious horror of the Mahommedans, or the scoffs of the Hindoos." "Such dogmas or doctrinal and other

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passages," he afterwards says, "as are not exposed to those objections, and are not unfamiliar to the minds of those for whose benefit the compilation was intended, are generally included, in conformity with the avowed plan of the work; particularly such as seem calculated to direct our love and obedience to the beneficent Author of the universe and to him whom he graciously sent to deliver those precepts of religion and morality whose tendency is to promote universal peace and harmony." When replying to the objections of the Reviewer, that the precepts of Christ do not shew how to obtain the forgiveness of sins and the favor of God, the Friend of Truth extracts from the compilation "a few passages of that greatest of all prophets who was sent to call sinners to repentance"; and adds; "Numerous passages of the Old and New Testaments to the same effect, which might fill a volume, distinctly promise us that the forgiveness of God and the favor of his Divine Majesty may be obtained by sincere repentance, as required of sinners by the Redeemer."

On these anonymous publications, Dr. MARSHMAN, of Serampore College, published a series of animadversions which led to a very remarkable reply from RAMMOHUN ROY—the Second Appeal—with his name prefixed, which is distinguished

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by the closeness of his reasonings, the extent and critical accuracy of his scriptural knowledge, the comprehensiveness of his investigations, the judiciousness of his arrangement, the lucid statement of his own opinions, and the acuteness and skill with which he controverts the positions of his opponents. All the publications of this controversy were soon reprinted in London; and those who wish to become acquainted with the sentiments of this remarkable man, as to his Christian belief generally, and his own opinions respecting God and Christ, may be referred with confidence, and in an especial manner, to this Second Appeal to the Christian Public in defence of the "Precepts of Jesus." The doctrine maintained in it respecting God, is thus stated by himself:—"That the Omnipotent God, who is the only proper object of religious veneration, is one and undivided in person"; that "in reliance on numerous promises found in the sacred writings, we ought to entertain every hope of enjoying the blessings of pardon from the merciful Father, through repentance, which is declared the only means of procuring forgiveness for our failures"; and that he leads "such as worship him in spirit to righteous conduct, and ultimately to salvation, through his guiding influence which is called the Holy Spirit," "given as the consequence of their

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sincere prayer and supplication." And respecting "Jesus of Nazareth" he speaks as the "Christ of God": he says he places "implicit confidence" in his "veracity, candour, and perfection": he represents him as "a Being in whom dwelt all truth, and who was sent with a divine law to guide mankind by his preaching and example"; as receiving from the Father, "the commission to come into the world for the salvation of mankind"; as judging the world by the wisdom of God; as being "empowered to perform wonderful works"; he speaks of his subordinate nature and receiving all the powers which he manifested from the Father; but also of his being "superior even to the angels in heaven, living from the beginning of the world to eternity"; and of the Father's creating "all things by him and for him"; and he dwells with great satisfaction (pp. 162—167) on the conclusion to which the instructions of Christ had led him, that the "unity existing between the Father and himself," is "a subsisting concord of will and design, such as existed among his Apostles, and not identity of being." "Had not experience (he concludes) too clearly proved that such metaphorical expressions, when taken singly and without attention to their contexts, may be made the foundation of doctrines quite at variance with the tenor of the rest of the Scriptures, I

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should have had no hesitation in submitting indiscriminately the whole of the doctrines of the New Testament to my countrymen; as I should have felt no apprehension that even the most ignorant of them, if left to the guidance of their own unprejudiced views of the matter, could misconceive the clear and distinct assertions they every where contain, of the unity of God and the subordinate nature of his messenger Jesus Christ."

The Second Appeal called forth another work from Dr. MARSHMAN; to which RAMMOHUN ROY published a reply in 1823, under the title of the Final Appeal. His preceding works had been printed at the Baptist Missionary Press; but the acting proprietor declined, "although in the politest manner possible," to print the Final Appeal; and RAMMOHUN ROY purchased type, and commenced an independent printing press for this and other similar publications. The imprint is "Calcutta: printed at the Unitarian Press, Dhurmtollah." He depended chiefly on native aid; and in consequence the original work has many errata. In the Preface he states that this controversy had prevented other publications which he had projected for his countrymen, as well as drawn him for three years from other literary pursuits; and that it had caused much coolness towards him in the demeanour of some

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whose friendship he held very dear; nevertheless, that he did not wish he had pursued a different course, since, he says, "whatever may be the opinion of the world, my own conscience fully approves of my past endeavours to defend what I esteem the cause of truth."

The Editor of the *Indian Gazette*, in adverting to this discussion, and to the other labours of this distinguished native, thus writes—"We say distinguished, because he is so among his own people, by caste, rank, and respectability; and among all men he must ever be distinguished for his philanthropy, his great learning, and his intellectual ascendancy in general." As to the controversy arising from the Precepts of Jesus, the Editor says that whatever other effects it may have caused, "it still further exhibited the acuteness of his mind, the logical power of his intellect, and the unrivalled good temper with which he could argue:" it roused up "a most gigantic combatant in the theological field—a combatant who, we are constrained to say, has not yet met with his match here."

To the public testimonies already adduced, may be added that of the celebrated SISMONDI, who, in an article in the Revue Encyclopédique for 1824, after some important observations respecting the institution of castes and the sacrifice of

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widows, thus proceeds: "A glorious reform has, however, begun to spread among the Hindoos. A Brahmin, whom those who know India agree in representing as one of the most virtuous and enlightened of men, RAMMOHUN ROY, is exerting himself to restore his countrymen to the worship of the true God, and to the union of morality and religion. His flock is small, but increases continually. He communicates to the Hindoos all the progress that thought has made among the Europeans. He is among them, by a much juster title than the Missionaries, the Apostle of Christianity."

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Autobiographical Sketch.

THE following letter from RAMMOHUN ROY himself first appeared in the "Athenæum," and in the "Literary Gazette;" from one or other of which it was copied into various newspapers. It was written just before he went to France. It was probably designed for some distinguished person who had desired him to give an outline of his history; and he adopted this form for the purpose. The letter may be considered as addressed to his friend Mr. GORDON, of Calcutta.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"In conformity with the wish you have frequently expressed, that I should give you an outline of my life, I have now the pleasure to give you the following very brief sketch.

"My ancestors were Brahmins of a high order, and, from time immemorial, were devoted to the religious duties of their race, down to my fifth progenitor, who about one hundred and forty years ago gave up spiritual exercises for worldly

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pursuits and aggrandisement. His descendants ever since have followed his example, and, according to the usual fate of courtiers, with various success, sometimes rising to honour and sometimes falling; sometimes rich and sometimes poor; sometimes excelling in success, sometimes miserable through disappointment. But my maternal ancestors, being of the sacerdotal order by profession as well as by birth, and of a family than which none holds a higher rank in that profession, have up to the present day uniformly adhered to a life of religious observances and devotion, preferring peace and tranquillity of mind to the excitements of ambition, and all the allurements of worldly grandeur.

"In conformity with the usage of my paternal race, and the wish of my father, I studied the Persian and Arabic languages,—these being indispensable to those who attached themselves to the courts of the Mahommedan princes; and agreeably to the usage of my maternal relations, I devoted myself to the study of the Sanscrit and the theological works written in it, which contain the body of Hindoo literature, law and religion.

"When about the age of sixteen, I composed a manuscript calling in question the validity of the idolatrous system of the Hindoos. This, together with my known sentiments on that subject,

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having produced a coolness between me and my immediate kindred, I proceeded on my travels, and passed through different countries, chiefly within, but some beyond, the bounds of Hindoostan, with a feeling of great aversion to the establishment of the British power in India. When I had reached the age of twenty, my father recalled me, and restored me to his favour; after which I first saw and began to associate with Europeans, and soon after made myself tolerably acquainted with their laws and form of Government. Finding them generally more intelligent, more steady and moderate in their conduct, I gave up my prejudice against them, and became inclined in their favour, feeling persuaded that their rule, though a foreign yoke, would lead more speedily and surely to the amelioration of the native inhabitants; and I enjoyed the confidence of several of them even in their public capacity. My continued controversies with the Brahmins on the subject of their idolatry and superstition, and my interference with their custom of burning widows, and other pernicious practices, revived and increased their animosity againat me; and through their influence with my family, my father was again obliged to withdraw his countenance openly. though his limited pecuniary support was still continued to me.

"After my father's death I opposed the ad-

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vocates of idolatry with still greater boldness. Availing myself of the art of printing now established in India, I published various works and pamphlets against their errors, in the native and foreign languages. This raised such a feeling against me, that I was at last deserted by every person except two or three Scotch friends, to whom, and the nation to which they belong, I always feel grateful.

"The ground which I took in all my controversies was, not that of opposition to Brahminism, but to a perversion of it; and I endeavoured to show that the idolatry of the Brahmins was contrary to the practice of their ancestors, and the principles of the ancient books and authorities, which they profess to revere and obey. Notwithstanding the violence of the opposition and resistance to my opinions, several highly respectable persons both among my own relations and others, began to adopt the same sentiments.

"I now felt a strong wish to visit Europe, and obtain, by personal observation, a more thorough insight into its manners, customs, religion, and political institutions. I refrained, however, from carrying this intention into effect until the friends who coincided in my sentiments should be increased in number and strength. My expectations having been at length realised, in November, 1830, I embarked for England, as the discussion of the

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East India Company's charter was expected to come on, by which the treatment of the natives of India, and its future government, would be determined for many years to come, and an appeal to the King in Council, against the abolition of the practice of burning widows, was to be heard before the Privy Council; and his Majesty the Emperor of Delhi had likewise commissioned me to bring before the authorities in England certain encroachments on his rights by the East India Company. I accordingly arrived in England in April, 1831.

"I hope you will excuse the brevity of this sketch, as I have no leisure at present to enter into particulars; and

"I remain, &c.,

"RAMMOHUN ROY."

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Miss Mary Carpenter.

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W. RAY & SONS.

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Chapter 1.

ENGLISH IMPRESSIONS OF RAMMOHUN ROY.

Derived from documents which reached England before his visit.

MORE than half a century has now elapsed since the attention of the religious public in Great Britain was first drawn to the wonderful man who is the subject of the present volume. Those who are acquainted with India at the present time, when the efforts of the British Government have long been directed to advancing the material resources of that great country, as well as to promote intellectual and moral improvement, and who are aware how gladly these efforts are seconded by the intellectual part of the native population can hardly realize the difficulties which the first Hindoo Reformer must have had to encounter. This must be borne in mind when tracing the progress of the extraordinary individual, who, for so long a period, stood alone to encounter the

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hostility of a whole people sunk in the most degrading idolatry.

The first English notice we find of RAMMOHUN ROY occurs in the Periodical Accounts of the Baptist Missionary Society, Vol. VI., pp. 106—109, of the date of 1816 —

"RAMA-MOHUNA-RAYA, a very rich Rarhee Brahmun of Calcutta, is a respectable Sungskrita scholar, and so well versed in Persian, that he is called MOULUVEE-RAMA-MOHUNA-RAYA* ; he also writes English with correctness, and reads with ease English mathematical and metaphysical works. He has published in Bengalee one or two philosophical works, form the Sungskrita, which he hopes may be useful in leading his countrymen to renounce idolatry. Europeans breakfast at his house, at a separate table, in the English fashion ; he has paid us a visit at Serampore, and at a late interview, after relating an anecdote of Krishna, relative to a petty theft by this god, he added, "The sweeper of my house would not do such an act, and can I worship a god sunk lower than the man who is a menial servant ? He is at present a simple theist, admires Jesus Christ, but knows not his *need* of the atonement. He has not renoun-

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ced his caste, and this enables him to visit the richest families of Hindoos. He is said to be very moral; but is pronounced to be a most wicked man by the strict Hindoos."

Subjoined to this is a copy of RAMMOHUN ROY'S Preface to his Translation of the Abridgment of the Vedanta. The passage closes as follows:

"Of this man Mr. YATES writes thus, in a letter dated Aug. 1816:—'I was introduced to him about a year ago: before this, he was not acquainted with any one who cared for his soul. Some time after, I introduced EUSTACE CAREY to him, and we have had repeated conversation with him. When I first knew him he would talk only on metaphysical subjects, such as the eternity of matter, the nature and qualities of evidence, &c., but he has lately become much more humble, and disposed to converse about the gospel. He has many relations, Brahmuns, and has established religious worship among them. He maintains the unity of God, and hates all the heathen idolatries. He visited EUSTACE lately and stayed to family prayer, with which he was quite delighted. EUSTACE gave him Dr. WATT'S Hymns; he said he would treasure them up in his heart. He has been at Serampore once, and has engaged to come and see me in the course of a few weeks. He

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has offered EUSTACE a piece of ground for a school."

A fuller account of RAMMOHUN ROY is found in the Church of England "Missionary Register" for Sept., 1816, p. 370 :—

"We have been favoured with a sight of a tract, printed at Calcutta in the present year (1816), with the following title :—'Translation of an Abridgment of the Vedant, or Resolution of all the Veds; the most celebrated and revered Work of Brahminical Theology, establishing the Unity of the Supreme Being; and that he alone is the Object of propitiation and worship. By RAMMOHUN ROY.' Before we give an account of this curious tract, it may be advantageous to our readers to know something of the author. Of RAMMOHUN ROY we have received reports from several friends. The substance of them is this: he is a Brahmin, about 32 years of age, of extensive landed property, and of great consideration and influence; shrewd, vigilant, active, ambitious, prepossessing in his manners, versed in various languages, and busily employed in giving lectures to a number of his countrymen on the Unity of the Godhead. He is acquainted with the New Testament, and seems disposed to hear any thing which can be enforced by the authority of Christ.

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"Another account carries him further as a Christian. It states that he began his studies by learning Persian; as he considered a knowledge of that language necessary to every native of any distinction. From Persian he was led almost as a matter of course to Arabic and the Koran. His own statement is, that the religion of Mahomed at first made some impression upon him; but when he found that the prophet carried off the beautiful wife of his slave, and attempted to establish his religion by the sword, he became convinced that it could not be from God. Then he studied our Bible in English; and in consequence became a Christian. He has spread his doctrine to a considerable extent and has several Hindoos of high caste and of fortune in league with him, who maintain his opinions. They call themselves a society, and are bound by certain rules, one of which is, that no man shall be admitted into their number except with this condition, that he renounce idol worship. Of these rules however, they do not seem to be very uniform in the observance. One of the society, though he professess to have renounced idolatry, yet keeps in his house a number of gods, as well as two large pagodas; his society granted him a dispensation on this head, because he possesses a certain quantity of land from the King of Delhi for this purpose,

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and if he were to destroy his idols, he might lose his land. One account carries the number of RAMMOHUN'S followers to nearly five hundred; and states, that they expect soon to be strong enough to enable him publicly to avow his faith, and consequently to lose his caste, which he has hitherto not done, as it would impede his intercourse with many whom he hopes shortly to convince. The Brahmins had twice attempted his life, but he was fully on his guard. It is stated, that after being baptized he intends to embark for England, with many of his friends, in order to pass some years in the acquisition of learning at one or both of our universities.

"RAMMOHUN writes and speaks English correctly. He has published different tracts and translations in our tongue, and in Persian and Bengalee, directed against the Hindoo idolatry and superstitions. The piece, of which we shall give an abstract, discovers little else than a discernment of the folly of the vulgar belief of his country; and a subtle, but unsuccessful, attempt to put a good meaning on the absurd statements of its more ancient and refined creed. His judgment may possibly be convinced of the truth of Divine revelation, but one of our correspondents represents him to be as yet but a selfconfident Deist;—disgusted with the follies of the pretended

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revelations from heaven, with which he has been conversant, but not yet bowed in his convictions, and humbled in his heart to the revelation of Divine mercy. We do not mean to say that the heart of RAMMOHUN ROY is not humbled, and that he has not received the gospel as the only remedy for the spiritual diseases under which he labours in common with all men ; but we have as yet seen no evidence sufficient to warrant us in this belief. We pray God to give him grace, that he may in penitence and faith embrace with all his heart the Saviour of the world.

The tract (of which we have given the title) is short, extending to fourteen pages, quarto. It is an abridgment of the Vedant of VYAS, whom RAMMOHUN ROY represents as 'the greatest of the Indian theologists, philosophers and poets. The author professes to give the real sense and meaning of the Vedant and Veds on the most important points of the Hindoo theology, which he asserts to have been misunderstood and forgotten. His various positions are supported by passages from the Vedant or Veds, and those which appear to contradict them are explained. After asserting the necessity for mankind to acquire knowledge respecting the Supreme Being, but that this knowledge is limited to very narrow bounds, the author argues from the Vedant and

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Veds that creating and governing power cannot be attributed to any of the various objects to which the grosser Hindoo theology attributes it; such as the void space, air, light, nature, atoms, the soul, any god or goddess of the earth, the sun, or any of the celestial gods. He asserts the unity, spirituality, omnipresence and omnipotence of the Supreme Being;—that he is the sole object of worship;—that the adoration of him is required of mankind, as well as of the celestial gods;—that moral principle is a part of the adoration of God, with reliance on, and self-resignation to, the only true Being, and an aversion to worldly considerations,—and that devotion to the Supreme Being is not limited to any holy place or sacred country.

"The rise of this new sect, the zeal and subtlety displayed by its founder, with its obvious tendency to undermine the fabric of Hindoo superstition, are objects of serious attention to the Christian mind. Who knows, asks one of the friends form whom we have received these communications but this man may be one of the many instruments by which God, in his mysterious providence, may accomplish the overthrow of idolatry?' 'What may be the effect of this man's labours,' says another correspondent, 'time will shew.' Probably, they may bring the craft of Brahminism

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and caste into danger; and God may be in this manner shaking the kingdom of Satan. However, this may prove, that great work will be done; and though reason and philosophy may not have a voice powerful enough to reach the hearts of these poor captives, yet the Christian missionary whom Christ sends forth will find a mouth and tongue which no man shall be able to gainsay or to resist'." *

In this, and in other extracts, the Editor of this volume refrains from expressing an opinion on the sentiments of the writer, and merely presents to the reader the views which were entertained at the time respecting RAMMOHUN ROY, and brought before the English public by the periodical literature of the day.

A notice of the Abridgment of the Vedant occurs in the same volume of the "Monthly Repository," p. 512, which is interesting, as affording from another quarter a view of the position first taken by Hindoo Reformer:—

"Two literary phenomena, of a singular nature, have very recenty been exhibited in India. The first is a Hindu Deist.

"RAMMOHUN ROY, a Brahmin, has published a

* Extracted from the "Monthly Repository of Theology and General Literature," Vol XIII., pp. 299—301, 1818.

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small work, in the present year, at Calcutta, entitled 'An Abridgment of the Vedant, or Resolution of all the Veds; the most celebrated work of Brahminical Theology, establishing the Unity of the Supreme Being, and that he alone is the Object of Worship.' It contains a collection of very remarkable texts from the Vedas, in which the principles of natural religion are delivered, not without dignity; and which treat all worship to inferior beings, together with the observance of rites and seasons, and the distinctions of food, as the aids of an imperfect religion, which may be altogether disregarded by those who have attained to the knowledge and love of the true God. His contemporaries and his ancestors he considers as idolaters, notwithstanding the excuse of an allegorical theology which some Europeans have made for them. This Brahmin is made to complain with feeling in the English version, of the obloquy which he has incurred among his countrymen by the purity of his faith. He alludes no where to any other system of religion; and passes over, in absolute silence, the labours, and indeed the existence of the missionaries."

The records of the next year mark a striking advance in RAMMOHUN ROY'S mind. The following passage is extracted from a letter from Rev. T. BELSHAM, Minister of Essex Street Chapel,

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London, as an introduction to a letter he had just received from a native convert to Christianity, WILLIAM ROBERTS, of Madras:—

"It is very remarkable that while the great doctrine of the unity and unrivalled supremacy of God is thus gradually working its way among the poorer classes of natives in the vicinity of Madras, it is at the same time making a triumphant progress among the higher castes of Hidoos in the great and populous city of Calcutta. RAMMOHUN ROY, a learned, eloquent, and opulent Brahmin, having, by the proper exercise of his own understanding, discovered the folly and absurdity of the Hindoo mythology and of idol worship, was led by a conscientious sense of duty to proclaim this important discovery to his countrymen, and has publicly taught the doctrine of the divine unity and perfection to the native Hindoos, and has entered his protest against their impious, barbarous and idolatrous rites. Such doctrine from a person of such exalted rank, at first excited great astonishment, and gave infinite offence. But by degrees the courage, eloquence, and perseverance of this extraordinary man prevailed over all opposition: and it is said that many hundreds of the native Hindoos, and especially of the young people, have embraced his doctrine. He does not profess to be a Christiain. He told a worthy clergyman at

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Calcutta about a year ago, that he preferred Christianity to all other religions, and would certainly embrace it, if it were not for the doctrine of the Trinity. This was an insurmountable obstacle. At the beginning of this year, in January, 1817, he informed the same respectable clergyman, that he was now in the way of ascertaining whether the doctrine of the Trinity is or is not the doctrine of the New Testament: for that he and twenty other learned Brahmins had determined to sit down and study the Gospel with the greatest possible attention and impartiality, in order to discover their real meaning; and he did not think it possible that twenty serious and impartial inquirers, who sought after nothing but truth, and who earnestly implored divine illumination and direction, would be suffered to fall into an erroneous conclusion. The result of this inquiry has not yet reached England." *

During the years 1816, 1817, RAMMOHUN ROY issued various pamphlets, of which a list is given in the Appendix, all tending to prove to his countrymen the unity of the deity from their own sacred writings. These were translated into English, and a full review of them is given in the "Monthly Repository" for 1819, Vol. XIV., pp.

* "Christian Reformer," Vol. IV., p. 2, 1818.

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561—569. As these works are probably inaccessible to most readers, some extracts from this review will be interesting as indicating the modes of thought of the author :—

"The 'Ishopanished' is another chapter of the Veds, strongly asserting, as the pious translator says, 'that the sole regulator of the universe is but one, omnipresent, surpassing our powers of comprehension, above external sense, whose worship is the chief duty of mankind, and the sole cause of eternal beatitude.' In the Preface is obviated the objection that the *Puranas*, &c., admitted expositions of the Hindoo shasters or sacred books, inculcate 'the worship of the several gods and goddesses.' 'They affrm frequently,' says the Reformer, 'that the directions to worship any figured beings are only applicable to those who are incapable of elevating their minds to the idea of an invisible Supreme Being, in order that such persons, by fixing their attention on those invented figures, may be able to restrain themselves from vicious temptations, and that those that are competent for the worship of the invisible God should disregard the worship of idols.'

"Many learned Brahmins are perfectly aware of the absurdity of idolatry, and are well informed of the nature of the purer mode of divine worship. But as in the rites, ceremonies and festivals of

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idolatry, they find the source of their comforts and fortune, they not only never fail to protect idol worship from all attacks, but even advance and encourage it to the utmost of their power, by keeping the knowledge of their Scriptures concealed from the rest of the people. Their followers, too, confiding in these leaders, feel gratification in the idea of the Divine nature residing in a being resembilng themselves in birth, shape, and propensities ; and are naturally delighted with a mode of worship agreeable to the senses, though destructive of moral principles, and the fruitful parent of prejudice and superstition.'—*Pref.*, pp. ix. x.

"The zealous writer goes on to controvert the liberal opinion of some Europeans that the Hindoos regard their idols, as the Roman Catholics say they do their crucifixes and pictures, as mere helps to contemplation ; an opinion, he says, which very naturally arises out of 'the extreme absurdity of pure, unqualified idolatry,' and under which, 'flimsy and borrowed' as it is, he is glad to see the Hindoos willing to shelter their practices, in as much as such a disposition shews that they are beginning to be sensible of their folly. He declares, however, that 'Hindoos of the present age with a very few exceptions,' are downright and gross idolaters.

"For whatever Hindoo purchases an idol in

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the market, or constructs one with his own hands, or has one made up under his own superintendence, it is his invariable practice to perform certain ceremonies, called *Pran Pratishtha* or the endowment of animation, by which he believes that its nature is changed from that of the mere materials of which it is formed, and that it acquires not only life but supernatural powers. Shortly afterwards, if the idol be of the masculine gender, he marries it to a feminine one, with no less pomp and magnificence than he celebrates the nuptials of his own children. The mysterious process is now complete, and the god and goddess are esteemed the arbiters of his destiny, and continually receive his most ardent adoration.

"'At the same time, the worshipper of images ascribes to them at once the opposite natures of human and of superhuman beings. In attention to their supposed wants as living beings, he is seen feeding, or pretending to feed them, every morning and evening; and as in the hot season he is careful to fan them, so in the cold he is equally regardful of their comfort, covering them by day and night with warm clothing, and placing them at night in a snug bed.'—*Pref*, pp. xiii xiv.

"The doctrine of the Vedant that 'God is everywhere and every thing is in God,' which is,

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it seems, pleaded in behalf of Hindoo idolatry, amounts to no more, according to RAMMOHUN ROY, than 'that nothing is absent from God, and nothing bears real existence except by the volition of God, whose existence is the sole support of the conceived existence of the universe, which is acted upon by him in the same manner as a human body is by a soul.'

"Reformers are opposed everywhere by the same prejudices. Idolatry is defended in Hindoostan by the argument of custom.

" 'Let the authors of the Veds, Poorans and Tantras,' it is said, 'assert what they may in favour of devotion to the Supreme Being, but idol worship has been practised for so many centuries that custom renders it proper to continue that worship.' It is, however, evident to every one possessed of common sense, that custom or fashion is quite different from divine faith; the latter proceeding from spiritual authorities and correct reasoning and the former being merely the fruit of vulgar caprice. What can justify a man, who believes in the inspiration of his religious books, in neglecting the direct authorities of the same works, and subjecting himself entirely to custom and fashion, which are liable to perpetual changes, and depend upon popular whim?

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" 'I may conclude this subject with an appeal to the good sense of my countrymen by asking them whose advice appears the most disinterested and most rational,—that of those who, concealing your Scriptures from you, continually teach you thus: "believe whatever we may say—don't examine or even touch your Scriptures—neglect entirely your reasoning faculties—do not only consider us, whatever may be our principles, as gods on earth, but humbly adore and propitiate us by sacrificing to us the greater part (if not the whole) of your property;" or that of the man who lays your Scriptures and their comments, as well as their translations, before you, and solicits you to examine their purport, without neglecting the proper and moderate use of reason; and to attend strictly to their directions, by the rational performance of your duty to your sole Creator, and to your fellow-creatures, and also to pay true respect to those who think and act righteously? I hope no one can be so prejudiced as to be unable to discern which advice is most calculated to lead him to the best road to both temporal and eternal happiness'— pp xxi—XXIII.

"After the Preface is an introduction, which we lay before the reader as a whole, on account of the pure moral feeling which it expresses:

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"The physical powers of man are limited; and when viewed comparatively, sink into insignificance; while in the same ratio his moral faculties rise in our estimation, as embracing a wide sphere of action, and possessing a capability of almost boundless improvement. If the short duration of human life be contrasted with the great age of the universe, and the limited extent of bodily strength with the many objects to which there is a necessity of applying it, we must necessarily be disposed to entertain but a very humble opinion of our own nature; and nothing, perhaps, is so well calculated to restore our self-complacency as the contemplation of our more extensive moral powers, together with the highly beneficial objects which the appropriate exercise of them may produce. On the other hand, sorrow and remorse can scarcely fail, sooner or later, to be the portion of him who is conscious of having neglected opportunities of rendering benefit to his fellow-creatures. From considerations like these, it has been that I (although born a *Brahmin*, and instructed in my youth in all the principles of that sect), being thoroughly convinced of the lamentable errors of my countrymen, have been stimulated to employ every means in my power to improve their minds, and lead them to the knowledge of a purer system of morality. Living

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constantly among *Hindoos* of different sects and professions, I have had ample opportunity of observing the superstitious puerilities into which they have been thrown by their self-interested guides ; who, in defiance of the law as well as of common sense, have succeeded but too well in conducting them to the temple of idolatry ; and while they hid from their view the true substance of morality, have infused into their simple hearts a weak attachment for its mere shadow. For the chief part of the theory and practice of *Hindooism*, I am sorry to say, is made to consist in the adoption of a peculiar mode of diet, the least aberration from which (even though the conduct of the offender may in other respects be pure and blameless) is not only visited with the severest censure, but actually punished by exclusion from the society of his family and friends. In a word, he is doomed to undergo what is commonly called loss of caste. On the contrary, the rigid observance of this grand article of *Hindoo* faith, is considered in so high a light as to compensate for every moral defect. Even the most atrocious crimes weigh little or nothing in the balance against the supposed guilt of its violation. Murder, theft, or perjury though brought home to the party by a judicial sentence, so far from inducing loss or caste, is visited in their society with no peculiar mark of

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infamy or disgrace. A trifling present to the *Brahmin*, commonly called *Prayaschit*, with the performance of a few idle ceremonies, are held as a sufficient atonement for all those crimes ; and the delinquent is at once freed from all temporal inconvenience, as well as all dread of future retribution. My reflections upon these solemn truths have been most painful for many years. I have never ceased to contemplate, with the strongest feelings of regret, the obstinate adherence of my countrymen to their fatal system of idolatry, inducing for the sake of propitiating their supposed deities, the violation of every humane and social feeling. And this in various instances, but more especially in the dreadful acts of self-destruction, and the immolation of the nearest relations, under the delusion of conforming to sacred religious rites. I have never ceased, I repeat, to contemplate these practices with the strongest feelings of regret, and to view in then the moral debasement of a race who, I cannot help thinking, are capable of better things ; whose susceptibility, patience and mildness of character, render them worthy of a better destiny. Under these impressions, therefore, I have been compelled to lay before them genuine translations of parts of their Scripture, which inculcates not only the enlightened worship of one God, but the purest principles of moral-

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ity, accompanied with such notices as I deemed requisite to oppose the arguments employed by the *Brahmins* in defence of their beloved system. Most earnestly do I pray that the whole may, sooner or later, prove efficient in producing on the minds of *Hindoos* in general, a conviction of the rationality of believing in and adoring the Supreme Being only; together with a complete perception, and practice of that grand and comprehensive moral principle, 'Do unto others as ye would be done by.' "

This courageous attack on the long-established and prevailing religion of his countrymen is most remarkable, when we consider that the author of it was brought up in the midst of gross idolatry, and with none around him to guide him to a purer religion, or to open his eyes to its baneful nature, in perverting the moral nature of man, and degrading the whole system of society. Such an instance is probably unparalleled in the history of the world. The Hindoo Reformer had entered on a mighty conflict, single handed. RAMMOHUN ROY was speedily attacked in his own language by an "Apologist for the present system of Hindoo worship," and by an "Advocate for Idolatry, at Madras," who published a letter against him in the *Madras Courier*. Notwithstanding all opposition, however,

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he succeeded in awaking the attention of many of his countrymen, by the simple force of truth, set forth by his masterly mind. When writing to the Editor of the Translation of the Cena Upanishad, he says at the close of a letter from which extracts were made in the Biographical Sketch:—

"I now with the greatest pleasure inform you, that several of my countrymen have risen superior to their prejudices; many are inclined to seek for the truth; and a great number of those who dissented form me have now coincided with me in opinion. The engagement has prevented my proceeding to Europe as soon as I could wish; but you may depend upon my setting off for England within a short period of time, and if you do not return to India before October next, you will most probably receive a letter from me informing you of the exact time of my departure for England, and of the name of the vessel on which I shall embark."

The European reputation of RAMMOHUN ROY as a remarkable man, and a Reformer, was not confined to Great Britain. A French pamphlet respecting him was forwarded to the Editor of the "Monthly Repository," (xv, 1820,) by the Abbé GREGOIRE, formerly Bishop of Blois, and which was afterwards inserted in the "Chronique

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Religieuse" The biographical part of this pamphlet was derived from communications from the learned M. D' ACOSTA, then the Editor of *The Times*, at Calcutta. The following extract presents several interesting features of the life of RAMMOHUN ROY, as viewed by a foreigner :—

"Whatever be the abstract merit of RAMMOHUN ROY, there is, probably, throughout India no Brahmin who is less a Hindoo than he ; and thousands of dupes who have suffered the loss of their caste have been less offenders against the peculiarities of their religion than he.

"RAMMOHUN ROY, considering that youth is the period most adapted to the reception of novelties, either good or bad, has established a school at his own expense, where fifty children are taught Sanscrit, English, and Geography. How slender soever these attempts at reform may appear, they will, probably more or less rapidly attain their object ; aided as they are by European influence, and, above all, by the art of printing. It is against the division of his countrymen into castes that RAMMOHUN ROY'S correcting hand is turned, and in that the strength of his judgment is evinced. The distinction of castes may be regarded as the cement of the polytheism and the other errors prevalent in India : let that distinction disappear, and all the Hindoo superstitions will crumble

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beneath the touch of human reason. It is the division into castes, carried to a frightful excess, which consolidates the Hindoo system, by incorporating it with the daily habits of domestic life. In fact, European institutions themselves are not altogether exempt from the influence of this vicious principle : legitimacy, taken as an absolute rule ; hereditary nobility and the privileges of the first-born, are the same thing ; or rather, are remnants of it, which cannot without difficulty be destroyed.

"RAMMOHUN ROY, adapting his measures to the place and the times in which he lives, as well as the sort of men he is attempting to enlighten, does not oppose the institution of castes by abstract reasonings (for they would be useless), but by the authority of the Vedant, which he is careful not to bring into disrepute, and of which he professes to be but the commentator. The discretion which regulates his conduct prevents any action revolting to the prejudices of his fellow-sectaries, or capable of affording an excuse for his exclusion. He has, nevertheless, risen above many littlenesses : he scruples not to seat himself with an European who is eating ; sometimes he even invites Europeans to his house, and treats them according to their own taste. Far, however, from wishing to lose his Brahminical dignity, it is upon *that* he founds his enterprise ; asserting that it is

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his duty, as a Brahmin, to instruct his countrymen in the sense and in the real commands of their sacred books. His efforts are directed towards the destruction of that prejudice which prevents the different castes from eating together. He considers that this amelioration is the most essential, and will affect every other, even the *political*, amelioration of his country—and this is an object to which he is not indifferent. Every six months he publishes a little tract, in Bengalee and in English, developing his system of theism; and he is always ready to answer the pamphlets published at Calcutta or Madras in opposition to him. He takes pleasure in this controversy; but although far from deficient in philosophy, or in knowledge, he distinguishes himself more by his logical mode of reasoning than by his general views. He appears to feel the advantage which it gives him with the Methodists, some of whom are endeavouring to convert him. He seems to have prepared himself for his polemical career from the logic of the Arabians, which he regards as superior to every other; he asserts, likewise, that he has found nothing in European books equal to the scholastic philosophy of the Hindoos.

"We may easily imagine that a man who has raised himself so much above the level of

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his countrymen by his intellectual attainments, cannot exactly resemble them in his conduct. He not only refrains from their superstitious practices (which is not saying much in his favour, since he might do so from various causes not highly laudable), but, what is much more important, all his conversation, his actions and manners,e vince a powerful sentiment of individual dignity; whilst, in general, meanness and feebleness of mind are characteristic of the Hindoo. Influenced, like those around him, with the spirit of order, economy and knowledge of the value of money, acquired by their mercantile education. RAMMOHUN ROY does n-t view the augmentation of property as the most important object: his fortune consists of the wealth he received form his ancestors: he does not give his mind to any kind of commercial speculation. He would consider that mode of life beneath his station and the duties of a Brahmin. He derives no pecuniary advantage from his works; and, in all probability, desirous as he may be of power and distinction, he would not accept of the Government any place that should be merely lucrative; to *solicit* one, of any description he would not condescend. It is not likely, however, that the Government will make trial of his inclination; it would not suit the policy of the present masters

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of his country to give encouragement to a subject whose soul is so lofty, and whose ingenuous conversation often shews, in a strain half serious and half jesting, all that he wishes to be able to do for his country. He cultivates a friendly connexion with many Europeans, distinguished by their rank or their merit; he appears not to seek connexions of any other kind. Within the last year or two he has been less in society than formerly.

"RAMMOHUN ROY, as has already been shewn, is not yet forty years old; he is tall and robust; his regular features and habitually grave countenance assume a most pleasing appearance when he is animated. He appears to have a slight disposition to melancholy. The whole of his conversation and manners shew, at first sight, that he is above mediocrity. He frequently talks of going into Europe, but apparently considers it desirable first to molify so far the prejudices of his countrymen that he may not by that voyage, which is regarded as unlawful, expose himself to excommunication. It is very doubtful whether he will succeed in this attempt; the hope, however, which he cherishes, is a decided proof of the character of his mind. * *

"It is singular that this philosophic Indian, who, as has been shewn in this little sketch, has enlar-

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ged views respecting the amelioration of the men of his country, has not the least idea of improving the females, of whom he avoids even the mention. We must suppose that this sort of prejudice, inspired by the Shasters, though general amongst the Hindoos, has been perpetuated in so enlightened a mind only by the circumstances of RAMMOHUN ROY's domestic life: it is known that every member of his family verifies the proverb, by opposing with the greatest vehemence all his projects of reform. None of them, not even his wife, would accompany him to Calcutta; in consequence of which he rarely visits them in Bordouan, where they reside. They have disputed with him even the superintendence of the education of his nephews; and his fanatical mother shews as much ardour in her incessant opposition to him, as he displays in his attempts to destroy the idolatry of the Hindoos.

"CALCUTTA, *Nov.* 8, 1818."*

A testimony from a different source is not less interesting; it has been already alluded to in the Biographical Sketch. It is taken from p. 106 of a "Journal of a Route across India, through Egypt to England, in the years 1817 and 1818. By Lieut.—Col. FITZCLARENCE" 4to. 1819:—

* "Monthly Repository," Vol. xv. pp. 2—4.

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"There has never been, to my knowledge, an instance of any Hindoo of condition or caste being converted to our faith. The only conversion of any kind, if it can be called so, that has come within my observation was that of a high-caste Brahmin, of one of the first families in the country, who is not only perfect master of the Sanscrit, but has gained a thorough acquaintance with the English language and literature, and has openly declared that the Brahminical religion is in its purity a pure Deism, and not the gross polytheism into which it has degenerated. I became well acquainted with him, and admire his talents and acquirements. His eloquence in our language is very great, and I am told he is still more admirable in Arabic and Persian. It is remarkable, that he has studied and thoroughly understands the politics of Europe, but more particularly those of England; and the last time I was in his company he argued forcibly against a standing army in a free country, and quoted all the arguments brought forward by the Members of the Opposition. I think that he is in many respects a most extraordinary person. In the first place, he is a religious reformer, who has, amongst a people more bigoted than those of Europe in the middle ages, dared to think for himself. His learning

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is most extensive, as he is not only conversant with the best books in English, Arabic, Sanscrit, Bengalee and Hindoostanee, but has even studied rhetoric in Arabic and English and quotes LOCKE and BACON on all occasions. From the view he thus takes of the religion, manners and customs of so many nations, and from his having observed the number of different modes of addressing and worshipping the Supreme Being, he naturally turned to his own faith with an unprejudiced mind, found it perverted with the religion of the Vedas to a gross idolatry, and was not afraid, though aware of the consequences to publish to the world in Bengalee and English his feelings and opinions on the subject; of course he was fully prepared to meet the host of interested enemies who from sordid motives, wished to keep the lower classes in a state of the darkest ignorance. I have understood that his family have quitted him—that he has been declared to have lost caste—and is for the present, as all religious reformers must be for a time, a mark to be scoffed at. To a man of his sentiments and rank this loss of caste must be particularly painful, but at Calcutta he associates with the English: he is, however, cut off from all familiar and domestic intercourse; indeed, from all communication of any

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kind with his relations and former friends. His name is RAMMOHUN ROY. He is particularly handsome, not of a very dark complexion, of a fine person, and most courtly manners. He professes to have no objection to eat and live as we do, but refrains from it, in order not to expose himself to the imputation of having changed his religion for the good things of this world. He will sit at table with us while the meat is on it, which no other Brahmin will do. He continues his native dress, but keeps a carriage, being a man of some property. He is very desirous to visit England and enter one of our universities where I shall be most anxious to see him, and to learn his ideas of our country, its manners and customs."

We have already seen, in the introductory Biographical Sketch how gradually the mind of the great Hindoo Reformer became attracted to Christianity; how he devoted some of the most important years of his life to the study of Hebrew and Greek, that he may himself judge of the real meaning of the Christian Scriptures; and how, being eventually fully satisfied that they taught nothing inconsistent with pure monotheism, he presented to his countrymen, as their "guide to peace and happiness," his "Precepts of Jesus."

* "Monthly Repository," Vol. xv. p. 7.

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To this he refers in the following extract from a letter dated Calcutta, Sept. 5, 1820:—

"As to the opinion intimated by Sir SAMUEL T——R, respecting the medium course in Christian dogmas, I never have attempted to oppose it. I regret only that the followers of Jesus, in general, should have paid much greater attention to inquiries after his nature than to the observance of his commandments, when we are well aware that no human acquirements can ever discover the nature even of the most common and visible things, and, moreover, that such inquiries are not enjoined by the divine revelation.

"On this consideration I have compiled serveral passages of the New Tesatment which I thought essensial to Christianity, and published them under the designation of Precepts of Jesus, at which the Missionaries at Shrainampoor have expressed great displeasure, and called me, in their review of the tract, an injurer of the cause of truth. I was, therefore, under the necessity of defending myself in an 'Appeal to the Christian Public,' a few copies of which tracts I have the preasure to send you, under the care of Captain S——and intreat your acceptance of them."

The writings of RAMMOHUN ROY and the controversy which they excited attracted so much notice in British India, that an atricle appeared

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on the subject in the "Asiatic Department of the *Calcutta Journal* of Politics and General Literature," No. VIII., for Aug. 1821. Long and very interesting extracts are made from this and other Indian papers in the "Monthly Repository" for 1822, Vol. XVII. pp. 393—400. Though the whole of this might be very important and interesting in an extended memoir, yet space prevents our doing more than copy the following letter, which occurs in the *Journal* of August 1, 1821, pp. 405, 406:—

"*To the Editor of the Calcutta Journal.*

"SIR,—RAM MOHUN ROY may be known by name to most of your readers, and it is probable, that many of them have heard he has forsaken the idolatry and all the superstitions of the Hindoos; but excepting those who are personally acquainted with, him, few are likely to be duly informed of his acquirements, his conduct, and his present religious belief. The Second Appeal to the Christian Public in defence of the 'Precepts of Jesus,' a work lately published by him, will make us acquainted with his religious belief, will enable us to form some idea of his acquirements, and cannot fail of producing in every *Christian*, great regard for the author, and a strong interest concerning so illustrious an individual; and the more we learn of his conduct the more will he be raised in our estimation.

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"The worthy motives by which RAMMOHUN ROY is actuated, have caused him to print the work in question, and several previous works, at his own expense, to distribute them among his acquaintance and such other persons as are likely to take an interest in the important subjects on which he has written. His last publication, that above-mentioned, is too large to be reprinted in a newspaper; but its contents are so important, and do the author so much credit, that I hope some competent person will prepare a compendium therof, and have the same published in the *Calcutta Journal*. In the mean time, you will oblige me by printing the two portions which accompany this letter: the first portion commences in p. 159, and ends in p 164; the other commences in p. 172, and extends to the end of the work. If such persons as on reading these extracts feel a sufficient interest to desire to peruse the work with attention, apply to the author for copies, it is probable he will readily comply with their request, as far as the number of copies printed will admit.

"Here we observe an individual, born and bred in a country benighted under the most gross idolatry and superstition, who, by a just use of that understanding which our gracious Creator has given to mankind to guide them to all truths,

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having discovered the falsehood of that system of idolatry and the absurdity of those superstitions, conscientiously abandoned both, and thereby subjected himself to inconveniences and dangers of which persons living in more enlightened societies can hardly form an idea. Next, he directed his attention to the Christian religion; and that same just and honest use of his understanding, which discovered the falsehood and absurdity of idolatry and superstition, satisfied him that *Jesus* was the Messiah, that he was employed by God to reveal his will to men, and to make known to them the only true religion. He observed the internal and historical evidence of Christanity to be such as demonstrated its truth. Blessed with the light of Christianity, he dedicates his time and his money not only to release his countrymen from the state of degradation in which they exist, but also to diffuse among the European masters of his country, the sole true religion—as it was promulgated by Christ, his apostles and his disciples.

"A FIRM BELIEVER IN CHRIST.

"CALCUTTA, *July* 12, 1821."

The Hindoo Reformer having fully satisfied himself of the importance of the Christian Religion, devoted himself earnestly to support it, and entered into communication on the subject not

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only with England but with the United States. In a letter addressed by him to a gentleman of Baltimore dated Calcutta, October 27, 1822, he says (*vide* "Monthly Repository" for 1823, Vol. XVIII., p. 433):—

"I have now every reason to hope, that the truths of Christianity will not be much longer kept hidden under the veil of heathen doctrines and practices, gradually introduced among the followers of Christ, since many lovers of truth are zealously engaged in rendering the religion of Jesus clear from corruptions. * * * I rely much on the force of truth, which will, I am sure, ultimately prevail. Our number is comparatively small, but I am glad to inform you, that none of them can be justly charged with the want of zeal and prudence.

"I wish to add, in order that you may set me right, if you find me mistaken,—my view of Christianity is, that in representing all mankind as the children of one eternal father, it enjoins them to love one another, without making any distinction of country, caste, colour, or creed; notwithstanding, they may be justified in the sight of the Creator in manifesting their respect towards each other, according to the propriety of their actions, and the reasonableness of their religious opinions and observance.

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"I shall loose no time in sending you my Final Appeal to the Christian Public, as soon as it is printed."

In a second letter (Dec. 9, 182) RAMMOHUN ROY remarks :—

"Although our adversaries are both numerous and zealous, as the adversaries of truth always have been, yet our prospects are by no means discouraging, if we only have the means of following up what has already been done.

"We confidently hope that, through these various means, the period will be accelerated, when the belief in the Divine Unity, and in the mission of Christ, will universally prevail,"

We have already seen, in the Biographical Sketch, that RAMMOHUN ROY was not allowed to print his "Final Appeal" at the Baptist Missionary Press, and to give it to the public, at his own expense he set up a Unitarian Press at Dhurmtollah.* It was subsequently published in London by the Unitarian Society in a large octavo volume, together with the "First and Second Appeal," the "Precepts of Jesus," and the prefaces of the author. The final paragraphs of the work are highly characteristic :—

"I tender my humble thanks for the Editor's

* An original copy of the first work issued from it is in the possession of the Editor of this work, having been sent by the noble author to her father, the late Rev. Dr. CARPENTER.

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kind suggestion, in inviting me to adopt the doctrine of the Holy Trinity; but I am sorry to find that I am unable to benefit by his advice. After I have long relinquished every idea of a plurality of Gods, or of the persons of the Godhead, taught under different systems of modern Hindooism, I cannot conscientiously and consistently embrace one of a similar nature, though greatly refined by the religious reformations of modern times; since whatever arguments can be adduced against a plurality of Gods strike with equal force against the doctrine of a plurality of persons of the Godhead; and, on the other hand, whatever excuse may be pleaded in favour of a plurality of persons of the Deity, can be offered with equal propriety in defence of polytheism.

"I now conclude my essay by offering up thanks to the Supreme Disposer of the events of this universe for having unexpectedly delivered this country from the long-continued tyranny of its former rulers, and placed it under the government of the English, a nation who not only are blessed with the enjoyment of civil and political liberty, but also interest themselves in promoting liberty and social happiness, as well as free inquiry into literary and religious subjects, among those nations to which their influence extends." *

* "Monthly Repository," 1823, vol. XVIII. p. 479.

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The satisfaction which RAMMOHUN ROY received form the mark of appreciation shown him by the publication of his work in England, is shown by the following extract from a letter from him to Dr. T. REES, of London (*vide* "Monthly Repository," 1824, Vol. XIX., pp. 681, 682):—

"REVEREND SIR,—I received your letter of the 16th June last, accompanied by a parcel of books to my address, with feelings of peculiar gratification. I cannot but be proud of the honour which the Committee have conferred upon me in reprinting my compilation of 'The Precepts of Jesus,' and the two Appeals in its defence. I beg you will oblige me by communicating to the members my warm acknowledgments for so distinguished a mark of their approbation. I also beg you will accept my best thanks for your valuable present of the Racovian Catechism, which I shall not fail to read with due attention.

"I have no language to express the happiness I derive form the idea that so many friends of truth, both in England and America, are engaged in attempting to free the originally pure, simple and practical religion of Christ from the heathenish doctrines and absurd notions gradually introduced under the Roman power;

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and I sincerely pray that the success of those gentlemen may be as great as (if not greater than) that of LUTHER and others, to whom the religious world is indebted for laying the first stone of religious reformation, and having recommended the system of distinguishing divine authority from human creeds, and the practice of benevolence from ridiculous outward observances."

The effect of his zealous devotion to the cause of truth on his worldly position, both with his countrymen and English residents, may be easily imagined. He bore it all nobly and unflinchingly. The following testimony to him on this point is valuable. It is from Mr. J. S. BUCKINGHAM, who, from his arrival in India, in june, 1818, had ample opportunities of knowing him. It is from a letter dated 68 Baker Street, Portman Square, London, Aug. 4, 1823:—

"RAMMOHUN ROY might have had abundant opportunities of receiving rewards from the Indian Government, in the shape of offices and appointments, for his mere neutrality; but being as remarkable for his integrity as he is for his attainments, he has, during the five years that I have known him, and that too most intimately and confidentially, pursued his arduous task of endeavouring to improve his countrymen, to

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beat down superstition, and to hasten as much as possible those reforms in the religion and government of his native land of which both stand in almost equal need. He has done all this, to the great detriment of his private interests, being rewarded by the coldness and jealousy of all the great functionaries of Church and State in India, and supporting the Unitarian Chapel—the Unitarian Press—and the expense of his own publications, besides other charitable acts, out of a private fortune, of which he devotes more than one-third to acts of the purest philanthropy and benevolence.

"I am ready to meet any man living and confirm verbally what I here commit to writing for your use; for nothing will delight me more than to do justice to one whom I honour and esteem as I do this excellent Indian Christian and philosopher." *

The progress made by RAMMOHUN ROY in drawing attention to liberal Christianity attracted considerable attention in the United States, and the Rev. Dr. WARE, Professor of Divinity in Harvard College, addressed a number of questions to him and to Mr. ADAM respecting the best method of promoting the cause of Christianity in

* "Monthly Repository," 1823 Vol. XVIII., p 442.

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India. Replies were made to these at considerable length and published.

The following are extracts from the correspondence. In RAMMOHUN ROY's letter to Dr. WARE, dated Calcutta, Feb. 2, 1824, is the following characteristic passage :—

"I have now prepared such replies to those queries as my knowledge authorizes and my conscience permits ; and now submit them to your judgment. There is one question at the concluding part of your letter (to wit, 'Whether it be desirable that the inhabitants of India should be converted to Christianity ; in what degree desirable, and for what reasons ?') which I pause to answer, as I am led to believe, from reason, what is set forth in scripture, that 'in every nation he that *feareth* God and worketh *righteousness* is accepted with him,' in whatever form of worship he may have been taught to glorify God. Nevertheless, I presume to think, that Christianity, if properly inculcated, has a greater tendency to improve the moral, social and political state of mankind, than any other religious system."—*Corresp.*, p p. 125, 129.

The following passages are from his replies :—

"The chief causes which prevent the natives of India from changing their religion, are the same as are found in the numerous class of Christians

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who are unable to give an answer to any man that asketh the reason of the hope they profess, viz., their reliance on the sanctity of the books received among them as revealed authorities, and the variety of prejudices planted in their minds in the early part of life. These are strongly supported by the dread of the loss of caste, the consequence of apostacy, which separates a husband from his wife, a father from his son, and a mother from her daughter. Besides, the doctrines which the Missionaries mantain and preach are less conformable with reason than those professed by Moosulmans, and in several points are equally absurd with the popular Hindoo creed. Hence there is no rational inducement for either of these tribes to lay aside their respective doctrines, and adopt those held up by the generality of Christians." —*Corresp.*, p. 134.

"Unitarian Christianity is not exposed to the last-mentioned objections; for even those who are inimical to every religion admit that the Unitarian system is more conformable to the human understanding than any other known creed. But the other obstacles above-mentioned must remain unshaken, until the natives are enabled by the diffusion of knowledge to estimate, by comparing one religion with another, their respective merits and advantages, and to relinquish their divisions, as

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destructive of national union as of social enjoyment.—*Corresp.*, p. 134.

It is probable that many English friends of enlightenment had put themselves into commnnication with the Hindoo Reformer before his arrival in England. The length of time which has elapsed since his death makes it very difficult to discover traces of the correspondence which doubtless took place between them and him. The following letter to the late J. B. ESTLIN, Esq., of Bristol, for which we are indebted to his daughter, will be read with interest :—

"DEAR SIR,—Mrs. MATTHEW being about to depart for Europe, has kindly offered to take charge of any letter or pamphlet that I may address to you. I embrace this opportunity of acknowledging the receipt of your letter and of the books, your excellent father's Lectures on Moral Philosophy, &c., which I had the honor to receive through Mrs. MATTHEW upwards of two years ago, and apologizing to you for the delay which has unavoidably taken place in answering your kind communication. For a period of more than two years, owing to the most affecting circumstances arising from the hostile feelings of some individuals towards my family, I found myself totally unable to pursue any undertaking or carry on correspondence, even with those whom I

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sincerely loved and revered, either residing in this country or in any other part of the globe. As I intend to lay those circumstances before the public within a short period in the form of a pamphlet, I refrain from detailing them at present. I however trust that in consideration of the accident alluded to you will kindly excuse the apparent neglect of which I confess I am guilty, and for which I have no other apology to offer.

"I rejoice to learn that the friends of the cause of religious truth have exerted themselves in the promotion of the true system of religion in India, and have remitted about 15,000 rupees to the care of Messrs. ALEXANDER and Co. for religious purposes, and that the Rev. Mr. ADAM hopes to be enabled to resume his missionary pursuits by the latter end of this month. The time of a fair trial is approaching, and truth I doubt not will expose the corruptions and absurd notions which have gradually disfigured genuine Christianity, and have brought it to a level with heathen mythology. I am happy to inform you that the books which you kindly presented me with were deservedly placed in our Library, under the care of the Rev. Mr. ADAM. A few copies of the Improved Version will be of much use to our friends here. The Rev. Mr. Fox has intimated his intention to furnish us with a certain number of that work.

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"Should you happen to see Dr. CARPENTER, you will oblige me by presenting my best respects to that gentleman. I shall soon embrace an opportunity of bringing myself in writing to his recollection.

"I have the pleasure to send you a copy of a pamphlet (a Bengalee Grammar in English) which has lately been published, and beg you will accept of it as a token of the regard and respect I entertain for you. With my fervent wishes for your health and success, I remain,

"Dear Sir,

"Yours most faithfully,

"RAMMOHUN ROY,

"CALCUTTA, *Feb. 7th*, 1827."

Such are a few of the English impressions of the Hindoo Reformer, as gathercd from the notices of him which reached us previously to his taking up his abode in our own country. We cannot close this chapter better than with the following tribute to him, when his health was proposed from the Chair at the annual anniversary of the British and Foreign Unitarian Associarion, in May, 1826 :—

"Mr. ARNOTT said, I hope to be excused for seizing this opportunity of bearing testimony to the inestimable character of the person whose

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health you have now drunk. His high and exalted talents are already known in Europe by his works; but it is those only who have known him personally, and who have enjoyed his conversation, that can form a true estimate of his character. It is not his talents only, although they have excited the admiration of every part of the world, but his virtues, his enlightened and benevolent heart, which raise him as much above others in philanthropy as in natural or acquired attainments." *

* "Monthly Repository," 1826, Vol. XXI., p. 309.

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Chapter II.

ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND AND RESIDENCE IN LONDON.

THE arrival of the illustrious Hindoo Reformer in our country was anxiously anticipated by all who had become acquainted with him through the various channels which have been laid before the reader. The nature of his labours, and the distance of the scene of them, naturally prevented his being an object of popular enthusiasm ;—nor, if that had been excited in his favour, would he have desired the public demonstrations of admiration and respect which were recently accorded to the great Italian patriot. But the reception given to him, though of a widely different kind, must have been no less gratifying to him at the time, and to his countrymen since his departure. The highest honours were publicly accorded to him, and a place was awarded to him among the foreign ambassadors at the coronation of the sovereign ; persons the most remarkable for their social standing and literary eminence sought his society, and highly esteemed the privilege of

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intercourse with him;—he was received into our English homes not only as a distinguished guest, but as a friend; and when he was prostrated on the bed of sickness and of death in a foreign land, he was surrounded with the most loving attentions, tended with the most anxious solicitude, and finally laid in the grave surrounded with true mourners, who felt him akin to them in spirit, if not connected with him by the ties of earthly relationship.

At this distance of time, however, when more than forty years have passed, and swept away so large a portion of the generation then existing, it is extremely difficult to collect memorials of his eventful visit, the first of the kind which had ever been paid to our country. The answers to inquiries on the subject have constantly been that some relative or friend was in frequent and highly interesting communications with the celebrated Brahmin, and could have given abundant information,—but that he is dead! The gentlemen at whose house RAMMOHUN ROY resided in London, and who were on terms of intimate friendship with him, could have afforded the most important information respecting his pursuits there; but they have long since passed away. Those that still remain and had the privilege of knowing him were generally too young at the time to have

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entered sufficiently fully into his general objects, and therefore cannot throw much light on the manner in which he carried them out. From some of these, however, very interesting reminiscences have been received, narrated with an exactness which shows how deep must have been the impression which they made. From these and from such incidental notices as appeared at the period, especially from the work of the Rev. Dr. CARPENTER already alluded to, our materials must be drawn.

We do not find any record of the few years preceding the arrival of RAMMOHUN ROY in England. We have seen that he had contemplated this visit during a long period, and doubtless had been making preparation for its accomplishment. The lawsuit which he had been carrying on for some time in reference to his caste had doubtless a direct bearing on his projected voyage. We understand, that strictly speaking, the mere circumstance of leaving the country is regarded as involving loss of caste; he was probably anxious to establish that this is not necessarily the case, and succeeded;—he retained his rank, and to the very last he was habitually careful while in our country to avoid every thing that could be construed into an act exposing him to loss of caste, and he was constantly attended

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upon by a Brahmin, who would of course report infringement of regulations. We have already seen that his motive in this, was not any lingering attachment to the superstitions of his country, or to early associations but a desire to avoid every thing which might impair his usefulness among his countrymen, or diminish the influence of his teachings,

The immense difficulty of the enterprise at that period is proved by the fact, that we do not hear of any other Hindoo of high caste visiting this country since the death of RAM-MOHUN ROY, until, in 1841 or 1842, his friend, DWARKANATH TAGORE, came to England; and in 1845 four native Indian Medical Students accompanied hither Dr. HENRY GOODEVE, the founder of the Medical College in Calcutta. It is only at the present time, when a number of courageous young men have determined mutually to support each other in casting off the shackles of superstition and caste, and that a few have pioneered the way, rendering the undertaking practicable and comparatively easy, that such an enterprise has been regarded otherwise than with the greatest dread. It is necessary to remember this, fully to realize the courage of the Hindoo Reformer.

The King of Delhi availed himself of the

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opportunity afforded by RAMMOHUN ROY's visit to England to urge certain claims on the British Government, and conferred upon him the title of Rajah, or Prince, by which he was commonly known in this country, RAMMOHUN ROY being the only Indian Prince known among us.

It was on April 8th, 1831, that Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY landed in our country, at Liverpool. He was at once invited by WILLIAM RATHBONE, Esq to take up his residence at the hospitable abode of Greenbank, which has been honoured by the presence of so many illustrious strangers who have there found a home; he preferred however to be independent, and at Radley's Hotel he was visited by many who desired at once to give him a respectful greeting. There are some who still treasure the remembrance of being among his early visitors. One of these, now a grey headed man, recollected when a young midshipman. on arriving at Calcutta going to visit the magnificent residence and grounds of the Brahmin, who was even then celebrated; it was in the Circular Road, at the eastern extremity of the town. He did not see the master of the mansion, but he picked up in the large aviary a relic in remembrance of the distinguished man, which he still treasures. The Rajah was pleased

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to meet on his arrival one even in comparatively humble rank, who had visited his country and his own home. Those who had watched with deep interest his religious progress eagerly welcomed him. The brief narrative of a most interesting interview with the celebrated WILLIAM ROSCOE is happily preserved in the Memoir of that eminent man by his son, HENRY ROSCOE :—

"It will be recollected," says the biographer, "that at a very early period of his life Mr. ROSCOE had collected the moral precepts of the New Testament into a small volume, to which he gave the title of 'Christian Morality, as contained in the Precepts of the New Testament, in the Language of Jesus Christ.' In the decline of life this youthful attempt was recalled to his mind by a work of a similar character proceeding from a very unlooked for quarter. This was 'The Precepts of Jesus,' collected, arranged, and published at Calcutta by a learned Brahmin, RAMMONHUN ROY, who, having become a convert to Christianity, endeavoured in this manner to recommend the religion of Christ to his countrymen. The character and history of this extraordinary man excited in the highest degree the interest and the admiration of Mr. ROSCOE. Not only had he emancipated his mind from the dark and cruel superstitions in which he

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had been educated, but he had cultivated his intellect to a degree which few of the natives of more favoured climes attain. For the purpose of studying the Scriptures he had rendered himself familiar with the Hebrew and the Greek, and had improved his mind by the study of various branches of knowledge. But these were his least merits. The great excellence of his character consisted in his enlarged views with regard to the welfare and improvement of his species, and in the benevolent zeal with which he promoted every project for the extension of education and of useful knowledge amongst the inhabitants of India. Of this zeal he gave a striking proof in the erection of a printing-press at Calcutta, at which his own work, 'The Precepts of Jusus,' and other volumes calculated to extend the influence of Christianity amongst the Hindoos, were printed.

"It is not surprising that with a man of this high and enlightened character Mr. ROSCOE should be desirous of communicating; and accordingly he took advantage of the opportunity of one of his friends (the late Mr. THOMAS HODGSON FLETCHER of Liverpool) proceeding to India, to transmit to RAMMOHUN ROY a small collection of his works, which he accompanied with the following letter :—

"'Although I have not the honour of being

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known to you, I am no stranger to your writings, nor to the uniform and noble manner in which you have asserted the cause or true and genuine Christianity, against the sophisms and absurdities of those who would persuade us that they are the only objects of the benevolence of the great Creator and Common Father of all His offspring. It seems strange even to myself that so long a time has elapsed, in which I have been aware how nearly my opinions on religious subjects have agreed with your own, without introducing myself to your acquaintance. The fact is, that within the first twenty years of a life which is now verging on its seventy-eighth year, I had devoted myself to the task of forming, as far as possible, a complete code of moral conduct from the precepts of Jesus Christ as given in the New Testament, in his own words; in which I had made a considerable progress; and although circumstances prevented my completing it, yet the impression which the attempt made on my own mind convinced me, that true Christianity consists alone in doing the will of our Father which is in heaven, which will is not only sufficiently, but most powerfully and beautifully enforced in that sacred volume.

"'In my riper years, as the affairs of the world engaged my attention, I have been employed on most of the great subjects of human interest;

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and have written and published on politics, jurisprudence, history, criticism, science, and literature, according to the measure of my abilities, and with the consciousness, in whatever department I have been engaged, of having promoted, to the best of my power, the improvement and happiness of my fellow-creatures.

"'Some of these works I would even flatter myself may, perhaps, have occurred to your notice; but at all events, that I may not suffer the little that remains to me of this life to pass away without being better known to you, and having at present a favourable opportunity of sending you a few volumes on various subjects that may give you a tolerable idea how I have been employed, I have made up a specimen of my writings, which I have to desire, you will accept as the gift of one friend to another; in order that, if they should be received in the same spirit in which they are sent, they may in fact diminish the barrier which Providence has placed between us, and introduce us to the society of each other, to be united, during our future lives, as true and faithful followers of our common Master.

"'The opportunity to which I have above alluded is that of a young friend who is about to depart from hence on a voyage to Calcutta,

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where it is his intention to take up his residence in a mercantile capacity, and who is desirous of an introduction to you, for the freedom of which I must trust myself to your indulgence.

* * * *

"'We have, for some time past, been flattered with hopes of seeing you in this kingdom, but I fear I am not destined to have that pleasure. At all events, it will be a great gratification to me if I should survive the attacks of the paralytic complaint, under which I have now laboured for some years, till I hear that you have received this very sincere mark of the deep respect and attachment which I have so long entertained for you, and which I hope to renew in a happier state of being.

"'I am, my dear Sir,

"'Your assured friend and fellow-christian,

"'W. R.

"'To the celebrated and learned

RAMMOHUN ROY, Calcutta.'"

"Before this letter could reach its destination Mr. ROSCOE had the unexpected gratification of hearing that the extraordinary person to whom it was addressed was already on his voyage to Europe. This intelligence was quickly followed by his arrival at Liverpool, where his character and striking appearance excited much curiosity and

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interest. The interview between him and Mr. ROSCOE will never be forgotten by those who witnessed it. After the usual gesture of eastern salutation, and with a mixture of oriental expression, RAMMOHUN ROY said, 'Happy and proud am I—proud and happy to behold a man whose fame has extended not only over Europe, but over every part of the world.' 'I bless God,' replied Mr. ROSCOE, 'that I have been permitted to live to see this day. Their conversation chiefly turned upon the objects which had led RAMMOHUN ROY to this country, and in the course of it he displayed an intimate acquaintance with the political and commercial state of England.

"The visit of the Rajah to Liverpool was a very short one, from his anxiety to be present at the third reading of the Reform Bill, and at the debates on the subject of India; and on his departure for London he carried with him the following letter from Mr. ROSCOE to Lord BROUGHAM :—

"'I have the great honour and very singular pleasure of introducing to your Lordship's kind notice and attention the bearer of this, the celebrated and learned RAMMOHUN ROY, who is just arrived here from Calcutta, and of whom you must already have frequently heard as the

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illustrious convert from Hindooism to Christianity, and the author of the selections from the New Testament of "The Precepts of Jesus"; by the publication and diffusion of which amongst the natives of the East reasonable hopes are now entertained, that in a short time, the shocking system and cruel practices of Paganism will be abolished, and the people of those populous regions be restored to the pure and simple precepts of morality and brotherly love. Amongst the many and important motives which have induced him to leave his country and connections, and visit this island, I understand he is induced to hope he may be of some assistance in promoting the cause of the natives of India in the great debate which must ere long take place here, respecting the Charter of the East India Company; but I have yet seen so little of him, from his numerous engagements here, that I must leave your Lordship to learn his intentions from himself, which you will find him very capable of explaining in his own strong and appropriate English idiom. One great reason, as I understand, for his haste to leave this for London, is to be present to witness the great measure that will be taken by your Lordship and your illustrious colleagues for promoting the long wished-for reform of his native country. On the present occasion, I will not

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trouble you further than to request, that, if it should not be inconsistent with your Lordship's station and convenience, you would obtain for our distinguished visitor the benefit of a seat under the gallery in the House of Commons, on the debate on the third reading of the Reform Bill; which favour I am anxious he should owe rather to your Lordship (if you have no objection to it) than to other individuals, to whom I understand, he has letters of introduction."*

The Rajah had the pleasure of social intercourse in Liverpool both with Mr. and Mrs. ROSCOE and with the friends at Greenbank and the Dingle, where he gave the impression which has often been referred to, "of a great man,—of power and grace in his frame,—and the same in his countenance and manner."

On going to London arrangements were made to gratify his wish to be present at a reading of the Reform Bill, in which he took so earnest an interest, but through driving on his arrival to the wrong Hotel he was too late. His views on the

* Life of WILLIAM ROSCOE, Vol. II., pp. 413—420.

[The venerable Mr. ROSCOE, then in his seventy-eighth year, did not long survive this interview, but after a short illness breathed his last on the 30th of June following.]

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subject may be gathered from the following letter to WILLIAM RATHBONE, Esq., which he has kindly given permission to insert:—

"48 BEDFORD SQUARE, LONDON,

"*July* 31*st*, 1832.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I am *now* happy to find myself fully justified in congratulating you and my other friends at Liverpool on the *complete* success of the Reform Bills, notwithstanding the violent opposition and want of political principle on the part of the aristocrats. The nation can no longer be a prey of the few who used to fill their purses at the expense, nay, to the ruin of the people, for a period of upwards of fifty years. The Ministers have honestly and firmly discharged their duty, and provided the people with means of securing their rights. I hope and pray that the people, the mighty people of England, may now in like manner do theirs, cherishing public spirit and liberal principles, at the same time banishing bribery, corruption and selfish interests, from public proceedings.

"As I publicly avowed that in the event of the Reform Bill being defeated I would renounce my connection with this country, I refrained from writing to you or any other friend in Liverpool until I knew the result. Thank heaven I can now feel proud of being one of your fellow subjects,

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and heartily rejoice that I have had the infinite happiness of witnessing the salvation of the nation, nay of the whole world.

"Pray remember me kindly to Mr. CROPPER and Mr. BENSON, and present my best respects to Mrs. RATHBONE and love to the children; believe me,

"My dear Sir,

"Yours very sincerely,

"RAMMOHUN ROY.

"P. S,—If the German philosopher is still at Liverpool, be good enough to remember me kindly to him, and inform him that we have succeeded in the reform question without having recourse to the principles of phrenology. "R. R."

We must now refer to Dr. CARPENTER'S 'Review" for information respecting his visit to London.

"On the 8th of April, 1831, the Rajah arrived at Liverpool, accompanied by his youngest son, Rajah RAM ROY, and two native servants, one of them a Brahmin; and soon after procceded to London. He arrived among us at a period when the whole nation was in a state of intense excitement, in connexion with Parliamentary Reform; and being well versed in our national history, and intimately acquainted with our political institutions and parties, he saw at once the bearings of the

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great measures which, he wrote, would 'in its consequences promote the welfare of England and her dependencies, nay, of the whole world.' Among those consequences, he lived to see a most important series of changes commenced, in the connexion of this country with his own; in the preparation of which there is reason to believe, our Government employed, and duly appreciated, the advantages which all would expect might be derived from the presence of a man so eminently qualified for the object by his knowledge, judiciousness, moderation and patriotism.

"The fame of RAMMOHUN ROY had preceded him; but the official character in which he came, together with the state of public affairs, necessarily brought him forward to public notice even more than might otherwise have been expected. The native Princes of Delhi, conceiving that they had a claim upon the East India Company to a very considerable amount, commissioned RAMMOHUN ROY as their envoy to represent and urge it; and they gave him, by firman, the title of Rajah. His official relation and title were recognized by the British Government; but the East India Company have never acknowledged either, though they always treated him with great consideration as a highly-distinguished individual. He was however, presented to his Majesty by the President of the

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Board of Control; and had a place assigned to him at the Coronation among the Ambassadors. He appears, indeed, to have had no reason for dissatisfaction with our Government, either in his individual or in his official capacity.

"Mr. DAVID HARE, an Englishman of Calcutta, of well-known and great respectibility, from his earnest attachment to the Rajah, had urged his brothers in Bedford Square to do every thing in their power for him; and especially to render him those services which he was sure to need in a land so different from his own, and to protect him from those evils and inconveniences to which his unsuspecting nature and ignorance of our customs might expose him. With great difficulty they at last prevailed upon him, some months after his arrival, to accept a home in their house; and when he went to France, for a few weeks, one of them accompanied him to Paris, where he was more than once at the table of LOUIS PHILIPPE."

My own opportunities," says Dr. CARPENTER, "of direct communication with this eminent person, while he remained in India, were not frequent. Each had very close engagements and many interruptions of purpose. One of his communications, at least, on which I rested much, was lost. I had no official reason for intruding upon his time; nor had I—it would have been

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presumptuous if I had had—any desire to attempt to direct his views, except by information as to the state of things among our religious community in Britain. It always seemed to me that his was a mind which, while looking to higher guidance, was to shape its own course; and which must be decided in its choice by the requirements of circumstances over which the residents in this country could have no control and of which, indeed, we had no certain knowledge. I was enabled, however, to keep myself in his recollection; and when he arrived in Britain, the first letter which I received from him assured me that I possessed his friendly regard and that as soon as his public duties permitted, he would visit us. I was his companion in his first attendance on Unitarian worship in London, and in the evening I conducted him to the crowded meeting of our Association, at which the father of my colleague, Rev. ROBERT ASPLAND, presided; where the enlightened Brahmin was welcomed as a fellow-labourer, and received with every mark of deep and heartfelt respect; and where he himself, though weakened by accident and indisposition, expressed, in simple but correct language—the remembrance of which and of his appearance, presses vividly on my heart as I commit the thought to writing—his

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humble appreciation of himself, and his desires to promote whatever appeared to him the cause of truth and duty."

A full record of this most interesting occasion is happily preserved in the "Monthly Repository" of June, 1831 (Vol v., N. S. pp. 417—420). The arrival of the "Apostle of the East" had been eagerly anticipated. After the proceedings had commenced we read :—

"Just at this period the Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY made his appearance on the platform, and was greeted with the cordial applause of the meeting,

The Rev. CHAIRMAN.—Our illustrious friend (for such I trust he will allow me to call him) will permit me to state that his presence creates among us a sensation which he perhaps will hardly understand. It does so, because in his person and example we see an instance of the power of the human mind in recovering itself from the errors of ages ; and because we conceive that we see in him, with his intelligence and character, one of the best and most disinterested judges of the claims of Unitarianism to be the original Christian doctrine.

* * * *

"Dr. BOWRING (now Sir JOHN BOWRING).—I feel it as a very signal honour to have entrusted

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to my care a resolution, the object of which is to welcome our illustrious oriental friend, and to communicate all we feel and hope towards him. I ought not to say all we feel and hope, for I am sure that it is impossible to give expression to those sentiments of interest and anticipation with which his advent here is associated in all our minds. I recollect some writers have indulged themselves with inquiring what they should feel if any of those time-honoured men whose names have lived through the vicissitudes of ages, should appear among them. They have endeavoured to imagine what would be their sensations if a Plato or a Socrates, a Milton or a Newton, were unexpectedly to honour them with their presence. I recollect that a poet, who has well been called divine, has drawn a beautiful picture of the feelings of those who first visited the southern hemisphere, and there saw, for the first time, that beautiful constellation, the Golden Cross. It was with feelings such as they underwent, that I was overwhelmed when I stretched out in your name the hand of welcome to the Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY. In my mind the effect of distance is very like the effect of time ; and he who comes among us from a country thousands of miles off, must be looked upon with the same interest as those illustrious men who lived thousands of years ago. But in

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the case of our friend, his coming may be deemed an act of heroism of which the European cannot form a just estimate. When Peter the Great went forth to instruct himself in the civilization of the South,—when he left the barbarous honours of his own court to perfect himself in ship-building at Saardam, he presented himself to the public eye in a more illustrious manner than after any of his most glorious victories. But Peter had to overcome no prejudices—he had to break down no embarrassments; for he knew that he had left those who were behind him with an enthusiasm equal to his own, and he knew that he would be received by them, when he should return, with the same display of enthusiasm. Our illustrious friend, however, has made a more severe experiment: he has ventured to accomplish that which perhaps none other, connected, as he is, with the highest honours of the Brahminical race, ever attempted: he has ventured to do that which would have been regarded with incredulity ten years ago, and which hereafter will crown his name with the highest honour. He will go back to his friends in the East and tell them how interested we are in them, and how delighted we are to communicate to them through him all our desires to do everything in our power to advance their improvement and felicity. Time would fail me

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if I were to attempt to go over the history of our illustrious guest,—if I were to tell how eminently and constantly he has exerted himself for the removal of misery, and the promotion of happiness. If at this moment Hindoo piles are not burning for the reception of widows, it is owing to his interference, to his exhortations, to his arguments. Can we look on such benefits as these without considering him as our brother? Can he come here without hearing our enthusiastic voices telling him how we have marked his progress, and without our proffering to him, if not our note of triumph, at least our accents of gratitude? It was to us a delightful dream that we might, on some occasion, welcome him here; but though it was a hope, it was but a trembling one, of which we scarcely dared to anticipate the fruition. But its accomplishment has produced recollections so interesting, that this day will be an epoch in our history, and no one will forget the occasion when the Brahmin stood among us to receive our welcome, and the assurance of the interest we take in all he does and in all he shall do; to which I may add that our delight will be too great if we can in any way advance those great plans, the progress of which is the grand object of his exertions. Sir, I move with great pleasure, 'That the members of this Association

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feel a deep interest in the amelioration of the condition of the natives of British India; that we trust their welfare and improvement will never be lost sight of by the Legislature and Government of our country; that we have especial pleasure in the hope that juster notions and purer forms of religion are gradually advancing amongst them; and that our illustrious visitor from that distant region, the Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY, be hereby certified of our sympathy in his arduous and philanthropic labours, of our admiration of his character, of our delight at his presence amongst us, and of our conviction that the magnanimous and beneficent course which he has marked out for himself and hitherto consistently pursued, will entitle him to the blessings of his countrymen and of mankind, as it will assuredly receive those of future generations.'

"Dr. KIRCLAND (late President of Harvard University, United States).—In the absence of the Hon. HENRY WHEATON, who was to have seconded this motion, but is prevented by indisposition, I have great pleasure in seconding the motion. It is well known that the Rajah is an object of lively interest in America; and he is expected there with the greatest anxiety.

"The Rev. CHAIRMAN.—In proposing this resolution I beg to suggest that the assembly

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should rise in unanimous approbation of its object.

"The meeting accordingly rose, and carried the resolution by acclamation.

"RAMMOHUN ROY.—I am too unwell and too much exhausted to take any active part in this meeting; but I am much indebted to Dr. KIRKLAND and to Dr. BOWRING for the honour they have conferred on me by calling me their fellow-labourer, and to you for admitting me to this Society as a brother, and one of your fellow labourers. I am not sensible that I have done any thing to deserve being called a promoter of this cause; but with respect to your faith I may observe, that I too believe in the one God, and that I believe in almost all the doctrines that you do: but I do this for my own salvation and for my own peace. For the objects of your Society I must confess that I have done very little to entitle me to your gratitude or such admiration of my conduct. What have I done?—I do not know what I have done!—If I have ever rendered you any services they must be very trifling—very trifling I am sure. I laboured under many disadvantages. In the first instance, the Hindoos and the Brahmins, to whom I am related, are all hostile to the cause; and even many Christians there are more hostile to our common cause than

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the Hindoos and the Brahmins. I have honour for the appellation of Christian; but they always tried to throw difficulties and obstacles in the way of the principles of Unitarian Christianity. I have found some of these here; but more there. They abhor the notion of simple precepts. They always lay a stress on mystery and mystical points, which serve to delude their followers; and the consequence is, that we meet with such opposition in India that our progress is very slight; and I feel ashamed on my side that I have not made any progress that might have placed me on a footing with my fellow-labourers in this part of the globe. However, if this is the true system of Christianity, it will prevail, notwithstanding all the opposition that may be made to it. Scripture seconds your system of religion, common sense is always on your side; while power and prejudice are on the side of your opponents. There is a battle going on between reason, scripture and common sense; and wealth, power and prejudice. These three have been struggling with the other three; but I am convinced that your success, sooner or later, is certain. I feel over-exhausted, and therefore conclude with an expression of my heartfelt thanks for the honour that from time to time you have conferred on me, and which I shall never forget to the last moment of my existence.

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"The CHAIRMAN.—The Rajah will now allow me, as the representative of this assembly, to take him once more by the hand, and to repeat in your name our deep and heartfelt thanks for his presence on this occasion."

The Rev. W. J. Fox made the following beautiful allusion to the Rajah in his speech :

"And when our oriental friend shall return, if return he must, (long be it delayed !) to his native regions, may he have to report that Europe is not only as supreme as he esteems it in sciences, arts, and arms, but is beginning to aspire to a supremacy in benevolence which shall annihilate all other supremacies, and even in the end its own, by assimilating and exalting human feeling and human character in all the regions of the world. The Rajah remarked to me the other day, with somewhat of an indignant feeling, that he had been shown a painting of Jesus Christ and that the painter was false, for he had given him the pale European countenance, not remembering that Jesus Christ was an oriental. The criticism was just. Those theologians have painted falsely too who have portrayed Christianity as a cold and intellectual religion, and not given it that rich oriental colouring of fancy and of feeling with which the Scriptures glow, and by which they possess themselves not only of the mind, but the heart and soul

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of man. Oh, thus may our religion appear, creating the whole human race anew in the image of the Creator !"

"While in London," says Dr. CARPENTER, "he repeatedly attended the worship of the Unitarians, at their different Chapels in or near the metropolis ; and he twice attended their anniversary meetings : but it was his system to avoid so far identifying himself with any religious body, as to make himself answerable for their acts and opinions ; and he also wished to hear preachers of other denominations who had acquired a just celebrity. He appears to have most frequented the church of the Rev. Dr. KENNY (St. Olave's, Southwark), who peculiarly interested him by the Christian spirit and influence of his discourses."

Religious sympathy must have been truly refreshing to the spirit of the Hindoo Reformer, after the long persecutions he had endured in his own country ; but every thing which related to his personal gratification was always regarded by him as secondary to the welfare of his country.

It cannot be doubted, therefore, that the Rajah's time and labours while in England were specially directed to the accomplishment of the great objects to which he had consecrated his life.

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"The promotion of human welfare," says Dr. C., "and especially the improvement of his own countrymen, was the habit of his life. This rested, without a doubt, on the consciousness of power to aid in the great work; and it was influenced by a strong conviction of responsibility for the use of that power. No selfish narrow purposes influenced him; and if he sometimes yielded too much to the kindly dispositions of his nature, and if he always pursued his course with cautious prudence, he ever manifested fortitude and unyielding firmness when any great and benevolent object required exertion, and exposed him to calumny and persecution.

"Such was the course he pursued for abolishing the horrid and too frequent practice of burning the living widow of a Brahmin with the corpse of her husband. This he laboured in various ways to accomplish; and in this he had a great and acknowledged influence, which should make him regarded as the friend of his country, of the female sex, and of the human race.

"There is no doubt that it was greatly through his firmness, his enlightened reasonings, and his persevering efforts, that the Government of Bengal at last thought themselves enabled to interdict the immolation of widows. His arguments, and his appeals to ancient authorities held sacred by the

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Brahmins, enlightened the minds of many of them; and made the merciful interposition of Lord WM. BENTINCK and his Council, no longer regarded by them, and by persons connected with the East India Company at home, as an interference with the religion of the Hindoos. When the interested and superstitious, as their last effort, appealed against the edict of the Government of India to the King in Council, RAMMOHUN ROY was here to oppose the appeal; and his unwearied efforts were given in aid of that result which finally annihilated the dreadful sacrifice of the living widow, and filled his heart, and hearts of numbers of his countrymen, with joy and gratitude.

To enable us to comprehend the immense difficulties which the Reformer had to contend with in effecting this great object, it will be well here to refer to his previous writings on the subject."

"The conferences," says Dr. C., "between an advocate for, and an opponent of, the practice of burning widows alive, of which a translation is subjoined to the Veds, give us an opportunity of observing, not only the tenaciousness with which the superstitious Brahmins clung to this horrid sacrifice, and the grounds on which it was defended, but also the acuteness of the Reformer's mind, and the logical adroitness with which he reasoned from common admissions; still more,

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they display his views of the character and circumstances of the female sex, the diffusion of which in Hindoostan must tend to elevate them to their due rank in society.

"'The faults which you have imputed to women,' wrote the Rajah, 'are not planted in their constitution by nature; it would be, therefore, grossly criminal to condemn that sex to death merely from precaution. By ascribing to them all sorts of improper conduct, you have indeed successfully persuaded the Hindoo community to look down upon them as contemptible and mischievous creatures, whence they have been subjected to constant miseries. I have, therefore, to offer a few remarks on this head.

"'Women are in general inferior to men in bodily strength and energy; consequently the male part of the community, taking advantage of their corporeal weakness, have denied to them those excellent merits that they are entitled to by nature, and afterwards they are apt to say that women are naturally incapable of acquiring those merits. But if we give the subject consideration, we may easily ascertain whether or not your accusation against them is consistent with justice. As to their inferiority in point of understanding, when did you ever afford them

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a fair opportunity of exhibiting their natural capacity? How then can you accuse them of want of understanding? If, after instruction in knowledge and wisdom, a person cannot comprehend or retain what has been taught him we may consider him as deficient; but as you keep women generally void of education and acquirements, you cannot, therefore, in justice pronounce of their inferiority. On the contrary, Leelavutee, Bhanoomutee (the wife of the prince of Kurnat), and that of Kalidas, are celebrated for their thorough knowledge of all the Shastras moreover in the Vrihudarunyuk Opunished of the Ujoor Ved it is clearly stated, that Yagnuvulkyu imparted divine knowledge of the most difficult nature to his wife Muitreyee, who was able to follow and completely attain it?

"'Secondly. You charge them with want of resolution, at which I feel exceedingly surprised: for we constantly perecive, in a country where the name of death makes the male shudder, that the female, from her firmness of mind, offers to burn with the corpse of her deceased husband; and yet you accuse those women of deficiency in point of resolution."—*Transl.* pp. 251, 252,

"The Hindoo Sage then proceeds to defend the female sex (3rdly) in reference to trustwor-

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thiness, and (4thly) to the subjection of the passions, in comparison with men; and in the close of the discussion he gives a picture of the degradation to which the women of Hindoostan are exposed."

The description which RAMMOHUN ROY here gives of the degradation of women in India, and the extreme cruelties practised towards them, we will not copy, hoping that they are now matters of history only. Then, we learn from him,—

" 'These are facts occurring every day and not to be denied. What I lament is that, seeing the women thus dependent and exposed to every misery, you feel for them no compassion that might exempt them from being tied down and burnt to death.'" *Transl.* pp. 253, 255.

"This horrid practice he speaks of repeatedly as murder, whenever any force was employed; and all engaged in it as then guilty of murder. It is easy to see what malignant hatred such expressions were likely to excite.

"In the 'Brief Remarks regarding Modern Encroachments on the Ancient Rights of Females, according to the Hindoo Law of Inheritance', 1822, subjoined to the Translations, RAMMOHUN ROY delineates (p. 270), 'the interest and care which their ancient Legislators took in the promo-

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tion of the comfort of the female part of the community,' and shows the extreme evils that the Hindoo women incurred by the changes which afterwards took place in the law of inheritance. In the course of his statement he says (pp. 274, 275). 'It is not from religious prejudices and early impressions only that Hindoo widows burn themsalves on the piles of their deceased husbands, but also from their witnessing the distress in which widows of the same rank in life are involved, and the insults and slights to which they are daily subjected, that they become in a great measure regardless of existence after the death of their husbands; and this indifference, accompanied with the hope of future reward held out to them, leads them to the horrible act of suicide. These restraints on female inheritance encourage, in a great degree, polygamy, a freqent source of the greatest misery in native families."

"His labours for his country," continues Dr. CARPENTER, "had, however, a much wider scope. He took an intense interest in whatever contributed, or appeared to him likely to contribute, to its welfare; and his communications to our Legislature show with what closeness of observation, soundness of judgment, and comprehensiveness of views, he had considered the various circumstances which interfered with its improvement,

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or which, on the other hand tended to promote it. They show him to be at once the philosopher and the patriot. They are full of practical wisdom; and there is reason to believe that they were highly valued by our Government, and that they aided in the formation of the new system by which the well-being of our vast dependencies in India must be so greatly affected for good or for ill;—a system which it requires little acquaintance with the causes of the welfare of nations to perceive, must, after the transition is fully made, essentially promote all the sources of prosperity to that immense population whom our nation is bound by every consideration of justice, as well as of philanthropy and wise policy, to raise and enlighten. Long, however, before the means were presented to him of thus publicly aiding in the political amelioration of his country, he was promoting by example and co-operation, and by the decided expression of his conviction, that means of improvement which is essential to the permanent efficacy of all others, and from which the greatest benefits may be expected in relation to social welfare, and to the reception of the Gospel—the judicious education of the young. He saw that the communication of the knowledge contained in our language, and the training to our modes of thought and reasoning, was the

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only sure and general way 'of improving the understandings of his countrymen, and of ultimately ameliorating their hearts'; and with the assistance of two or three friends, he himself supported a school for this purpose from about the year 1822, in which sixty Hindoo children receive instruction."

The spirit and object of the Rajah's work while in London, are thus eloquently delineated by the Rev. W. J. Fox in his discourse on the death of the Hindoo Reformer :—

"The benefits which, besides that great testimony which it was the business of his life to bear, he achieved or contemplated, for his native country, have this beautiful quality of all pure and good ends realized by pure and good means, that however local and temporary the immediate advantages, they expand themselves into the universal and enduring, and a blessing on any spot of earth tends to become a benediction on the great globe itself. The Hindoo patriot and reformer was, by the purity with which he sustained those characters, a benefactor to mankind. The good which he attempted for his countrymen is reflected and re-acts upon us. In leading them back, as he endeavoured by numerous publications, through the superstitions and corruptions of ages, to the primeval simplicity

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of their religion, does he not show us, and may we not profit by the lesson, that a pure theism, the original religion of mankind, is the true basis of all religion? In endeavouring to improve the manners and condition, the laws and institutions of that numerous people, was he not working good for us, who have injured ourselves, in so far as we have despised them, or been accessory to their oppression and debasement? The tyrant and the corruptor must themselves feed at last on the fruits of corruption and tyranny; while upon those who enlighten and emancipate, their own blessing returns in light and freedom.

"In the establishment of native schools, for providing the advantages of English education, which he supported at considerable expense,—in his connexion with the Indian Press,—and his able and honourable exertions to prolong its existence, by obtaining for it some degree of freedom, he was co-operating with those who in this or any country strive after the enlightenment of the human mind as the most efficient means of advancing to the possession of political freedom and of social happiness.

"In his work on the right of Hindoos to dispose of their ancestral property, and in other legal arguments, he struggled against decisions in the courts of Bengal, which he regarded as a departure

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from the best and highest Hindoo authorities; and which, as they tended to establish in that country the European principle or custom of primogeniture, could not but be offensive to his acute mind which so distinctly saw, and his benevolent heart which so strongly deprecated, its pernicious operation. Property, like superstition, may perpetuate a distinction of caste. This is one of the evils which make the worship of mammon not less degrading and pernicious to society than other idolatries.

"The noble exertions of RAMMOHUN ROY to stop the prevalent atrocity of sacrificing widows on the funeral pile, no doubt contributed to the abolition of that practice. His struggle with the interests of the Brahmins and the prejudices of society would not have been so long, had the British authorities, more decidedly and promptly espoused the claims of humanity. In one of his tracts on this subject, there is a noble and eloquent passage, in which from reprobating the particular instance of oppression of the female sex, he rises to the advocacy of such amelioration of their education and condition as would give the amplest scope and highest direction to their influence on the mind, the morals, and the happiness of the whole human race. And thus, also, his desire to visit Europe and America, had its source in that pure patriotism which not merely

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agrees with, but is philanthrophy. He had long wished to observe society under the influence of liberal institutions. He wished the sea to become the same broad highway for his countrymen that it is for the merchants, the travellers, and the literati of free and civilized nations. He wished, in the spirit of that Gospel which destroyed the partition wall betwixt Jew and Gentile, to break the barriers which divide the Eastern and the Western world. He had other and more immediate purposes. It was his hope that he might benefit his countrymen by his presence, and, if opportunity favoured, his interference, during the discussions which were about to take place on the renewal of the East India Company's Charter. An appeal had also been made to the King in Council, by the idolatrous Brahmins and their partizans, against the decree of the local authorities for the abolition of Suttees. And the Emperor of Delhi had constituted him his representative, with the title of Rajah, for the purpose of procuring reparation of certain encroachments on his rights by the East India Company. These purposes are all happily accomplished. His evidence on Indian affairs, which no doubt had its weight with the legislature, is before the public. He was present when the Privy Council gave its final decision against the Brahminical application for the renewal

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of the Suttee atrocities; and his negotiations on behalf of the Emperor of Delhi were conducted to a satisfactory and honourable termination. During his residence here he was the deeply-interested spectator of the most important struggle for popular right which has taken place in this country. And, in social intercourse, he endeared himself to natives of many countries, and to persons of all parties, ranks, and ages; attracting a regard which no celebrity could have conciliated, but which flowed spontaneously towards that goodness which was in him the soul of greatness."

His visit to England was at a period peculiarly important. In 1831, 1832, a Committee of the House of Commons was sitting on the affairs of India, and in 1833 a Bill on that subject was introduced into Parliament. Hence his time and thoughts were continually occupied with the proceedings of the Government, and affording information and advice whenever they were required. Every thing else was made subservient to this great object. Frequently was the noble form of the illustrious stranger seen within the precincts of our Houses of Parliament, as those still remember who were there thirty-five years ago.

In the Appendix to the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons on Indian affairs in 1831, 1832, are papers by RAMMOHUN ROY,

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communicated by the Board of Control. These papers occupy seventeen folio pages full of interesting and important observations. The queries are searching and comprehensive, and respect the position of the Government relating to the farmer and land cultivators,—the judicial system,—and the policy of the Government in reference to the promotion of natives. The opinions of such a man, who could regard the question at the same time with the patriotic feeling of a native of India, with the philosophic and enlarged mind of a sage and a religious man, and with a full knowledge and appreciation of the views and objects of the British Government, must deserve to be fully known and considered. We cannot here do more, however, than mention where this evidence is to be found, and give a few extracts from it :—

"In the Appendix to the Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company, published in 1831, Vol. V, pp. 716, 741, several papers are contained which were written by RAMMOHUN ROY.

"1. Revenue System of India,—pp. 716, 723. Copy of communication between RAMMOHUN ROY and the Board of Control relative to the Revenue and Judicial System of India.—54 questions proposed to RAMMOHUN ROY, and his

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answers, dated 19th August, 1831. Subjects: Revenue System of India, Tenure of Land, Rate of Rent, Title to Land, Improvement of the State of the Cultivators and Inhabitants at large."

"2. Pages 723, 726, Appendix A. Paper on the Revenue System of India, by RAMMOHUN ROY, dated London, August 19th, 1831.

"RAMMOHUN ROY concludes this paper (p.726) 'with beseeching any and every authority to devise some mode of alleviating the present miseries of the agricultural peasantry of India, and thus discharge their duty to their fellow-creatures and fellow-subjects.'"

"3. Questions and Answers on the Judicial System of India, pp. 726 739.—78 questions and answers, dated Sept. 19th, 1831.

"In pp. 729, 730, is the following answer of RAMMOHUN ROY to question 30,—'Can you suggest any mode of removing the several defects you have pointed out in the judicial system ?"

"Answer of RAMMHOUN ROY.—'As European Jndges in India are not generally expected to discharge Judicial duties satisfactorily, independent of native assistance, from not possessing a thorough knowledge of the languages, manners, customs, habits, and practices of the people, and as the natives who possess this knowledge have long been accustomed to subordination and indif-

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ferent treatment, and, consequently, have not the power of commanding respect from others, unless joined by Europeans, the only remedy which exists is to combine the knowledge and experience of the native with the dignity and firmness of the European.

"'This principle has been virtually acted upon and reduced to practice since 1796, though in an imperfect manner, in the constitution of Courts of Circuit, in which the Mufti (native assessor) has a voice with the Judge in the decision of every cause, having a seat with him on the Bench.

"'This arrangement has tolerably well answered the purposes of government, which has not been able to devise a better system in a matter of such importance as the decision of questions of life and death during the space of 40 years, though it has been continually altering the systems in other branches.

"'It is my humble opinion, therefore, that the appointment of such native assessors should be reduced to a regular system in the Civil Courts. They should be appointed by Government for life, at the recommendation of the Sudder Dewanee Adawlat, * which should select them

* This court is now amalgamated with Her Majesty's Supreme Court of Calcutta, and is called the High Court of Judicature in Bengal.

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carefully, with a view to their character and qualfications, and allow them to hold their situations during life and good behaviour, on a salary of from 300 to 400 rupees per mensem. They should be responsible to the Government as well as to the public for their decisions, in the same manner as the European judges, and correspond directly with the Judicial Secretary. A casting voice should be allowed to the European Judge in appointing the native officers, in case of difference of opinions; the native assessor, however, having the right to record his dissent. These assessors should be selected out of those natives who have been already employed for a period of not less than five years as assessors (mufti), lawyers (Zillah court maulavis), or as the head native officers in the judicial department',"†

"4. Additional queries respecting the condition of India, pp. 739—741.—13 queries and answers, dated London, Sept. 28th, 1831.

"In Vol. v., 1831, p. 741, in his answer to one of these additional queries, RAMMOHUN ROY thus describes the intelligent native Indians:—'Men of aspiring character, and members of such

† The nativs judicial officers are generally versed in Persian, and, therefore, the proceedings hitherto generally held in that language would be familiar to them.

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ancient families as are very much reduced by the present system, consider it derogatory to accept of the trifling public situations which natives are allowed to hold under the British Government, and are decidedly disaffected to it. Many of those, however, who engage prosperously in commerce, and of those who are secured in the peaceful possession of their estates by the permanent settlement, and such as have sufficient intelligence to foresee the probability of future improvement which presents itself under the British rule, are not only reconciled to it, but really view it as a blessing to the country.

"'But I have no hesitation in stating, with reference to the general feeling of the more intelligent part of the native community, that the only course of policy which can ensure their attachment to any form of government would be that of making them eligible to gradual promotion, according to their respective abilites and merits, to situations of trust and respectability in the State.'—RAMMOHUN ROY, London, Sept. 28, 1831."

"In Vol. VIII., 1831-2, in the General Appendix to the Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company, Section V, pp. 341—343.—

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Remarks by RAMMOHUN ROY are given on the settlement of Europeans in India, dated 14th July 1832.

"In p. 348, the following extract is given in this Appendix from a speech by RAMMOHUN ROY, who is described as an illustrious native, 'On the advantages of intercourse between the natives of India and European gentlemen':—'From personal experience I am impressed with this conviction, that the greater our intercourse with European gentlemen, the greater will be our improvement in literary, social, and political affairs; a fact which can easily be proved by comparing the condition of those of my countrymen who have enjoyed this advantage, with that of those who have unfortunately not had that opportunity.' The speech had been delivered at a public meeting of the native inhabitants of Calcutta";

"The evidence of RAMMOHUN ROY, in 1831, is referred to in the Appendix to the Report of 1833, p. 366, respecting the condition of the ryots in India."

"A side note for reference, p. 366, opposite to this mention of RAMMOHUN ROY, has these words, 'Evidence before Committee of 1831. Evidence before this Committee, A to G, 35.p. 5, min.,' which seems to show that the Rajah had

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been examined before a Committee of the House of Commons."

The literary labours of the Rajah were continued even in the midst of his political action, and the objects of interest in our great metropolis which are usually so engrossing to a stranger. We find these announcements in the "Christian Reformer" for February, 1832, Vol. XVIII., p. 95 :—

"The following publications are announced from the pen of Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY: 'An Essay on the Rights of Hindoos over Ancestral Property, according to the Law of Bengal, with an Appendix, containing Letters on the Hindoo Law of Inheritance'; and 'Remarks on East India Affairs; comprising the Evidence to the Committee of the House of Commons on the Judicial and Revenue Systems of India, with a Dissertation on its Ancient Boundaries; also Suggestions for the Future Government of the Country, illustrated by a Map, and further enriched with Notes."

In June of the same year, p. 287, we find :—

"The Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY has published his evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons appointed with a view to the question of the renewal of the East India Company's Charter, in an 8vo. volume entitled 'Exposition of the Practical Operation of the Judicial and Revenue Systems of India.' There

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is little interesting to the general reader in this work, though it will, we doubt not, have some weight with the legislature in the forthcoming discussion of the Company's Charter. We are pleased to find the following announcement at the close of some 'Preliminary Remarks :' the Rajah had just stated that he sailed from Calcutta, Nov. 19, 1830, and arrived in England, April 8, 1831—'The particulars of my voyage and travels will be found in a journal which I intend to publish, together with whatever has appeared to me most worthy of remark and record in regard to the intelligence, riches and power, manners, customs, and especially the female virtue and excellence existing in this country'."

In the "Monthly Repository" for September, of the same year (N. S., Vol. VI, p. 609), occurs a review of the two following works :—

"1. Exposition of the Practical Operation of of the Judicial and Revenue Systms of India. By Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY. London : Smith, Elder and Co., 1832.

"2. Translation of several principal books, passages and texts of the Veds, and of some controversial works on Brahminical Theology. By the same. London : Parbury, Allen and Co., 1832."

It is to be regretted that works which must

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have contained information so valuable and views so important should be at present but little known. We may hope that they will not be allowed to remain much longer in obscurity, but will be collected and republished.

Having thus considered the Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY during his residence in London in his religious, political and literary aspect, we may now observe him in his social relations.

We frequently remark in great reformers, and those who have been obliged, in the execution of important work for their fellow creatures, to tax their energies to the utmost, a deficiency in the more delicate and graceful parts of the character. The contrary was the case in the Hindoo patriot and reformer. The extraordinary courteousness and suavity of his general demeanour, and his habitual care to avoid giving unnecessary pain, would have made those who enjoyed his society think of him only as a most delightful and intellectual companion, did not some observation incidentally reveal what were the ever present subjects of his thoughts. To this those can testify who have the privilege of recollecting him personally.

How much the Hindoo Reformer attracted the attention of society, and won the respect of the intellectual portion of it, is shown by the following extracts from Miss LUCY AIKIN'S letters

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to Dr. CHANNING (Memoirs, Miscellanies and Letters, of the late LUCY AIKIN. London: Longman). The first is from a letter to Dr. CHANNING, date Hampstead, June 28, 1831 :—

"In the intervals of politics we talk of the Christian Brahmin, RAMMOHUN ROY. All accounts agree in representing him as a person of extraordinary merit. With very great intelligence and ability, he unites a modesty and simplicity which win all hearts. He has a very great command of the language, and seems perfectly well versed in the political state of Europe, and an ardent well-wisher to the cause of freedom and improvement everywhere. To his faith he has been more than a martyr. On his conversion to Christianity his mother cursed him, and his wife (or wives) and children all forsook him. He had grievous oppressions to endure from the Church party on turning Unitarian. This was at Calcutta; here it is determined to court him. Two bishops have noticed him, and the East India Company show him all civilities. But his heart is with his brethren in opinion, with whom chiefly he spends his time. I hear of him this remarkable saying,—that the three countries in Europe which appear even less prepared than Asia for a liberal system of religon, are Spain, Portugal and England."

The next is dated Hampstead, Sept. 6th, 1831 :—

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"Just now my feelings are more cosmopolite than usual; I take a personal concern in a *third* quarter of the globe, since I have seen the excellent RAMMOHUN ROY. I rejoice in the hope that you will see him some time, as he speaks of visiting your country, and to know you would be one of his first objects. He is indeed a glorious being,—a true sage, as it appears, with the genuine humility of the character, and with the genuine sensibility, a more engaging tenderness of heart than any *class* of character can justly claim. He came to my house, at the suggestion of Dr. BOOTT, who accompanied him partly for the purpose of meeting Mrs. JOANNA BAILLIE, and discussing with her the Arian tenets of her book. He mentions the Sanscrit as the mother language of the Greek, and said the expressions of the New Testament most perplexing to an European, were familiar to an Oriental acquainted with this language and its derivations, and that to such a person the texts which are thought to support the doctrine for the prëexistence, bear quite another sense. She was a little alarmed at the erudition of her antagonist, and slipped out at last by telling him that his interpretations were too subtle for an unlearned person like herself. We then got him upon subjects more interesting to me—Hindoo laws, especially those affecting women. He spoke of polygamy

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as a crime, said it was punishable by their law, except for certian causes, by a great fine; but the Mussulmans did not enforce the fine, and their example had corrupted Hindoos; *they* were cruel to women, the Hindoos were forbidden all cruelty. Speaking of the abolition of widow-burning by Lord W. BENTINCK, he fervently exclaimed, 'May God *load* him with blessings!' His feeling for women in general, still more than the admiration he expressed of the mental accomplishments of English ladies, won our hearts. He mentioned his own mother, and in terms which convinced us of the falsehood of the shocking tale that she burned herself for his apostacy. It is his business here to ask two boons for his countrymen—trial by jury, and freedom for British capitalists to colonise amongst them. Should he fail in obtaining these, he speaks of ending his days in America."

Miss AIKIN again refers to the Rajah, as follows, in a letter dated Oct. 15th, 1832:—

"I wonder whether you have seen a small book published by RAMMOHUN ROY containing translations of several of the Hindoo Veds? I have a good deal of interest in this view of theology and metaphysics of a nation so remote in every respect from us and our ways of thinking. The great point which the true friend of his country

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and his race has had in view in his various controversies with his own countrymen, has been to show that, although some idolatrous rites are sanctioned by their sacred books, yet it has always been the doctrine of the most authentic of these, that the highest future happiness was only attainable by a pure and austere life, and the worship of the invisible universal Spirit—that idolatry was for the gross and ignorant, rites and observances for them only. Thus he shows that eternal felicity —that is, absorption into the supreme spirit, is promised to women who after the death of their husbands lead devout and holy lives! and only a poor lease of thirty-five millions of years of happiness with their husbands to such as burn with them, after the expiration of which their souls are to transmigrate into different animals. This you will say is mighty puerile, but it is at least meeting his antagonists on their own ground. Afterwards he details the many cruelties and oppressions to which females in his country are subjected by the injustice and barbarity of the stronger sex, and pleads for pity towards them with such powerful, heartfelt eloquence as no woman, I think, can peruse without tears and fervent invocations of blessings on his head. The Rajah is now at Paris, where I doubt if he will find much gratification, as he is not well versed in the

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French language; he will return to us, however, soon after the meeting of parliament. I dread the effects of another English winter on his constitution; and yet it almost seems as if a life like his must be under the peculiar guardianship of Providence."

The Rajah alludes to his visit to France in the following interesting letters, addressed to Mrs. WOODFORD, of Brighton, and her late husband, which have been kindly furnished by her :—

"JANUARY, 31st, 1833.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I had on the 27th the pleasure of receiving your obliging communication, and beg to offer you and Mrs. W. my best thanks for this mark of attention towards me. I rejoice to observe that the translation of the Veds, &c., which I presented to Mrs. W. before my departure for the continent of Europe, has proved interesting to her and to yourself. I am now confirmed in the opinion, that her good sense and her *rational* devotion to religion will not induce her to reject any reasonable sentiments, on the ground that they are not found in this book, or in that volume.

"I was detained in France too late to proceed to Italy last year; besides, without a knowledge of French, I found myself totally unable to carry on communication with foreigners, with any degree

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of facility. Hence I thought I would not avail myself of my travels through Italy and Austria to my own satisfaction. I have been studying French with a French gentleman who accompanied me to London, and now is living with me.

"I shall be most happy to receive your nephew Mr. KINGLAKE, as I doubt not his company and conversation as your relative, and a firm friend of liberal principles, will be a source of delight to me. I thank you for the mention you made of Sir HENRY STRACHEY. His talents, acquirements and manners, have rendered his name valuable to those who know him and can appreciate his merits. To the best of my belief and recollection, I declare that I do not know a native of Persia or India who could repeat Persian with greater accuracy than this British-born gentleman.

"RAMMOHUN ROY."

"48 BEDFORD SQUARE,

April 27th, 1832.

"MY DEAR MADAM,—I now have the pleasure of begging your acceptance of the accompanying copy of my remarks on India, and of another copy of a pamphlet on the abolition of the practice of burning Hindoo widows alive. You will, I am sure, be highly gratified to learn that the

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present Governor-General of India has sufficient moral courage to afford them protection against their selfish relations, who cruelly used to take advantage of their tender feelings in the name and under the cloak of religion. It must have afforded Mr. WOODFORD and yourself much gratificaiion to learn, by the first conveyance, the division on the second reading of the Reform Bill. The struggles are not merely between the reformers and anti-reformers, but between liberty and tyranny throughout the world; between justice and injustice, and between right and wrong. But from a reflection on the past events of history, we clearly perceive that liberal principles in politics and religion have been long gradually, but steadily, gaining ground, notwithstanding the opposition and obstinacy of despots and bigots. I am still unable to determine the period of my departure from London, and my visits to you in the country. I may perhaps do myself that pleasure.

"RAMMOHUN ROY,"

"48 BEDFORD SQUARE,

August 22nd, 1833.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I was glad to hear from Mr. CAREY some time ago, that you and Mrs. W. were in good health when he saw you last;

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and Sir HENRY STRACHEY, whom I had the pleasure of seeing about three weeks ago, has confirmed the same information. He is indeed an extraordinary man, and I feel delighted whenever I have an apportunity of conversing with that philosopher. I have been rather poorly for some days past; I am now getting better, and entertain a hope of proceeding to the country in a few days, when I will endeavour to pay you a visit in Taunton. The reformed Parliament has disappointed the people of England; the ministers may perhaps redeem their pledge during next session. The failure of several mercantile houses in Calcutta has produced much distrust, both in India and England. The news from Portugal is highly gratifying, though another struggle is still expected. I hope you will oblige me by presenting to Mrs. W., with my best respects, the accompanying copy of a translation, giving an account of the system of religion which prevailed in Central India, at the time of the invasion of that country by Alexander the Great.

RAMMOHUN ROY."

Many interesting anecdotes might have been collected soon after the Rajah's death, illustrating his character in social intercourse, but at this distance of time only a few can be

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gleaned. The first is from the pen of Mr. Recorder HILL:—

"I only met the Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY, once in my life. It was at a dinner party given by Dr. ARNOTT. One of the guests was ROBERT OWEN, who evinced a strong desire to bring over the Rajah to his socialistic opinions. He persevered with great earnestness; but the Rajah who seemed well acquainted with the subject, and who spoke our language in marvellous perfection, answered his arguments with consumate skill, until ROBERT somewhat lost his temper, a very rare occurrence which I never witnessed before. The defeat of the kind-hearted philanthropist was accomplished with great suavity on the part of his opponent."

The next is from an estimable lady who had the privilege of his acquaintance, and who was herself called from this world but a few weeks after she had penned the following note :—

"Few things could give me more pleasure than to assist you (in my humble way) in doing honour to our venerated friend Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY, but I am so miserably enfeebled by illness as to be incapable of looking over books and papers in research. I can, however, trust my memory for a little anecdote, to

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which yours will readily supply his courteous graceful manner.

"At a small evening party at my house in Grenville Street, principally to meet the Rajah, he referred to the doctrine of original sin, in a way that startled a lady of the low church, a very charming and amiable woman, who had brought her daughter. 'But surely, sir', she exclaimed, 'you do believe in original sin?' He looked at her, and she blushed deeply. After a minute, he seemed to comprehend the whole, and very gently inclining, he said, 'I believe it is a doctrine, which, in many well-regulated minds has tended to promote humility, the first of Christian virtues; for my own part, I have never been able to see the evidence of it.'

"The next morning my sweet friend called to apologise for what she had said, and added that she had never seen or heard any thing so beautiful as this in society,"

During this residence in London, the Rajah placed his son under the care of the late Rev. D. DAVISON, M.A., and frequently communicated with that gentleman respecting the progress of the youth. He won the high esteem of the family, by his most kind and courteous manners. His kindly sympathy was manifested by his being present at the christening of an infant born at that

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period, and bestowing on him his own name, "Rammohun Roy." In this child he took a warm interest:—

"His visits to *me*," writes Mr. DAVISON, "were generally paid to me in my *nursery*, as he insisted on coming up, so as to visit his *namesake* at the same time, and not to interrupt me. For surely never was there a man of so much modesty and humility! I used to feel quite ashamed of the reverential manner in which he behaved to me. Had I been our Queen I could not have been approached and taken leave of with more respeet. I was greatly struck with one thing which occurred. He called, and as he could not see me nor the boy for a little while, he waited, saying 'He would like to see the child once more.' This was just before leaving town for Miss CASTLE's, where he died,"

Very shortly after the arrival of the Rajah in England, it was arranged that when he paid his visit to Bristol, he should be the guest of Miss KIDDELL and Miss CASTLE, at Stapleton Grove, an agreeable residence in the immediate vicinity. The latter of these was a young heiress,—the ward of Dr. CARPENTER,—the former her maternal aunt and also her guardian. These ladies were introduced to the Rajah by Dr. C. in London, and the following letter respecting

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his intended visit, excepting the first, were addressed to them. Though they may not contain anything which adds to our knowledge of the Rajah's views, yet they give so pleasing a picture of the social and domestic side of his character, and have in them so many characteristic and incidental touches, that we will present them all to the reader :—

"125 REGENT STREET, LONDON,

"*May* 10*th*, 1831

"MY DEAR SIR,—I am now sufficiently recovered to answer your letter of the 28th ultimo. It will afford me much pleasure to spend some time in your city, of which from your and other accounts I have formed a very favourable opinion. I cannot but enjoy a high gratification in passing much of my time while there, in the house of so warm a friend as yourself, for whose proffered hospitality I cannot return sufficient acknowledgments. I fear, however, that were I to take up my entire residence under your hospitable roof, it would occasion you too much inconvenience. As I may be accompanied by a European friend and some servants, I will lodge at some hotel in your immediate neighbourhood; by which I shall be enabled to frequent your house nearly as much as if I resided in it, as

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well as benefit myself by the company of the Rev. Dr. CARPENTER, to whom I beg you will present my respects; and be good enough to inform him that two days ago I answered his kind communication.

"I remain, with gratitude,

"Yours most obediently,

"RAMMOHUN ROY.

"J. B. ESTLIN, Esq., Bristol."

"48 BEDFORD SQUARE,

"*March* 31*st*, 1832.

"MADAM,—I had lately the pleasure of seeing the Rev. Dr. CARPENTER, and hearing from that truly venerable minister that Miss CASTLE and yourself were perfectly well, and deeply interested in the cause of reform, on the success of which the welfare of England, nay of the whole world, depends. I should have long ere this visited Bristol, and done myself the honour of paying you my long-promised visit, but I have been impatiently waiting in London to know the result of the Bill. I feel very much obliged by your kind offers of attention to my comforts while I am in that part of the country, of which I hope to be able to avail myself as soon as my

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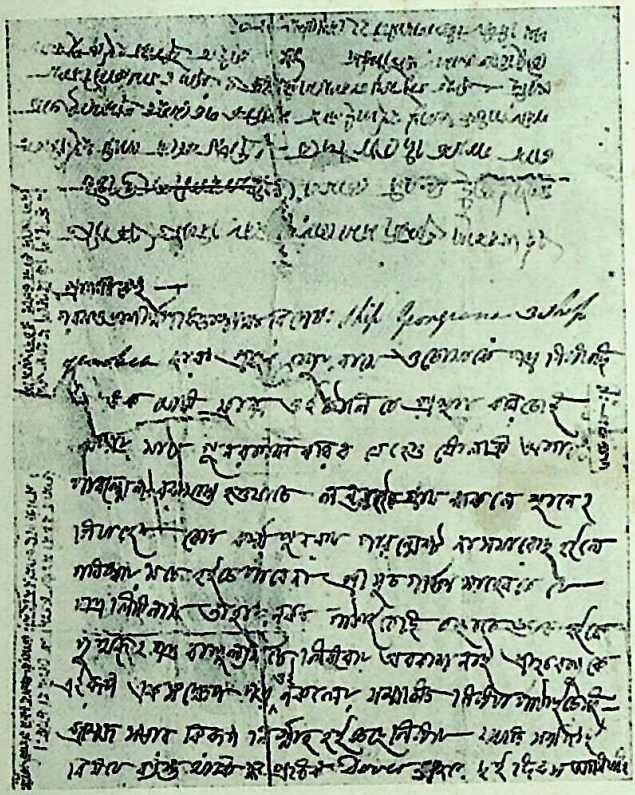

A letter from Raja Rammohun Roy to his eldest son Radhaprosad Roy, 22nd. Sept., 1832.

U. RAY & SONS,

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mind is relieved on this subject. You will oblige me by remembering me kindly to the Rev. gentleman, and presenting my best compliments to Miss CASTLE.

"I have the honour to be, Madam,
"Your most obedient Servant,
"RAMMOHUN ROY.

"Miss KIDDELL,
"Stapleton Grove, Bristol."

"48 BEDFORD SQUARE,
February 7th, 1833.

"DEAR MADAM,—I had last night great pleasure in receiving your letter of the 28th ultimo, and offer you and Miss CASTLE my cordial thanks for your kind remembrance of me. I beg to assure you that I am fully sensible of the kind attention you have shown me, and feel indeed grateful for it. I intended to pay you both a visit while residing in Dover, but I was informed that it was necessary to pass London on my way to Bristol. My health is, thank God, thoroughly re-established. I therefore embrace the opportunity of paying you a visit in the latter end of the month, or any rate by the beginning of next. I will endeavour to bring Mr.

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RUTT with me, though I am sorry to say that in consequence of my ill health I have not yet had the pleasure of seeing him. Pray remember me kindly to Miss CAROLINE RUTT, and present my best respects to Dr. CARPENTER, who truly stands very high in my estimation. I now conclude this with my best regards for you and for Miss CASTLE, and remain, dear Madam,

"Yours most faithfully,

"RAMMOHUN ROY.

"To Miss KIDDELL,

"Stapleton Grove, near Bristol."

"BEDFORD SQUARE,

May 14*th*, 1833.

"DEAR MADAM,—During last week I more than once intended to proceed to Bristol to avail myself of your kind invitation. But *important* matters passing here daily have detained me, and may perhaps detain me longer than I expect. I however lose no time in informing you that the influenza has already lost its influence in London, a circumstance which justifies my entertaining a hope of seeing you and your friends in the metropolis within a short time, perhaps by the

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25th instant. In the anticipation of the pleasure of being soon introduced to you and your friends, I remain, with my best compliments to Miss CASTLE and Miss RUTT,

"Dear Madam,

"Yours most faithfully,

"RAMMOHUN ROY,

"P.S.—I sincerely hope that you *all* have escaped the complaint. "R. R.

"Miss KIDDELL,

"Stapleton Grove, near Bristol."

TO Miss KIDDELL.

"*June* 12*th*, 1833.

"DEAR MADAM,—As Astley's Theatre commences at a-quarter past six o'clock p. m., I propose doing myself the pleasure of calling upon you at a little after half-past five to accompany you and your friends to the Theatre. In the meantime, I remain, dear Madam,

"Yours very sincerely,

"RAMMOHUN ROY.

TO Miss CASTLE.

June 22*nd*, 1833.

"MA CHERE DEMOISELLE,—I hope you will

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excuse my boldness when I take upon myself to remind you of your promise to read the publication of a certain learned Brahmin which I have brought to your notice. You may begin with page 4, and afterwards read the preceding part. I trust our truly esteemed Miss KIDDELL is now restored to health, and remain,

"Yours very sincerely,

RAMMOHUN ROY.

This note does not request an answer.

To Miss KIDDELL.

"DEAR MADAM,—I hope you and your friends are not worse from keeping late hours. I beg your acceptance of the accompanying volume, containing a series of sermons preached by Dr. CHANNING, which I prize very highly.

"I also beg you will oblige me by rendering the small pamphlet, published by a friend, acceptable to Miss CASTLE. Being averse to induce her to write a letter of thanks for such a trifling present, I have refrained from sending it directly to Miss CASTLE. Had I not been engaged to a dinner party to-day, I would have made another trial of Miss RUTT'S generosity this afternoon. I will endeavour to pay you a short visit between

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the hours of ten and twelve, should you be at home.

"I remain,
"Yours very sincerely,
"RAMMOHUN ROY."

48 BEDFORD SQUARE.
July 9th, 1833.

"DEAR MADAM,—I had yesterday the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 6th, and rejoice to learn that you find my son peaceable and well-behaved. I however entreat you will not stand on ceremony with him. Be pleased to correct him whenever he deserves correction. My observation on, and confidence in, your excellent mode of educating young persons, have fully encouraged me to leave my youngster under your sole guidance. I at the same time cannot help feeling uneasy now and then, at the chance of his proving disrespectful or troublesome to you or to Miss CASTLE.

"Miss DANIEL is not going to Bristol to-day. She will probably leave us on Friday next, when I intend to send a parcel of books, &c., in her charge. I hope I shall be able to have the pleasure of visiting you at your country residence next week, and not before, a circumstance which I fear will prevent us from joining the meeting in your

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neighbourhood. Dr. CARPENTER (I think) left London on Saturday last. I doubt not you will take my youngster every Sunday, to hear that pious and true minister of the Gospel.

"I will write again by Friday next. In the meantime I remain, dear Madam,

"Yours very sincerely,

RAMMOHUN ROY.

"Miss KIDDELL,

"Stapleton Grove, near Bristol."

On the same sheet as the foregoing :—

"MA CHERE DEMOISELLE,—With delight I read the few lines with which you have favoured me, and offer you my warm acknowledgments for them. They indicate that I still retain a place in your memory. I hope I shall be able to receive from you next week marks of personal civility. I also hope to be able to send you a small volume on Friday next for your acceptance, with a short letter, and will earnestly expect for a few lines in reply. Pray remember me kindly to my son and to Miss RUTT, and believe me always, with the kindest regard,

"Yours most sincerely,

'RAMMOHUN ROY.

"Pray excuse haste, as dinner is getting cold.

"R. M. R.

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Miss CATHERINE CASTLE.

"48 BEDFORD SQUARE,

"*July* 19*th*, 1833.

"DEAR MADAM,—I know not how to express the eager desire I feel to proceed to Bristol to experience your further marks of attention and kindness, and Miss CASTLE'S civil reception and polite conversation. But the sense of my duty to the natives of India has hitherto prevented me from fixing a day for my journey to that town, and has thus overpowered my feeling and inclination. It is generally believed that the main points respecting India will be settled by Wednesday next, and I therefore entertain a strong hope of of visiting you by Friday next. I shall not fail to write to you on Wednesday or perhaps on Tuesday next. I feel gratified at the idea that you find my youngster worthy of your company. Nevertheless I entreat you will exercise your authority over him, that he may benefit himself by your instructions. If you find him refractory pray send him back to London. If not, you may allow him to stay there till I supply his place. With my best wishes for your uninterrupted health and happiness.

"I remain, dear Madam,

"Yours very sincerely.

"RAMMOHUN ROY.

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"Miss ANN KIDDELL.

"P.S.—All the active members of the East India Company having been incessantly occupied by the Charter question, I have not yet brought the subject relative to your young nephew to the notice of any of them.

"R. R."

The following letter is on the same sheet :—

"*Friday, dispatched on Saturday.*

"MA CHERE DEMOISELLE,—Many thanks for your obliging and polite communication, which, by mistake, bears no date. I am glad to observe that you are pleased with your late journey, and with your visit to Windsor. The account which Miss KIDDELL and yourself have given of my son, gratifies me very much. Miss HARE received a letter from him this morning (which she read to me), expressing his utmost joy and satisfaction with his present situation. I beg you will accept my best thanks for your kind treatment of him. Instead of thanking me for the little tract I had the pleasure to send you last week, I wish you had said only that you would pay attention to it.

"You will perceive from my letter to Miss KIDDELL that I am to be detained here a week longer at the sacrifice of my feelings. I however cannot help reflecting that to entertain a hope of

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enjoying the society of friends (though for a short time, say one month) is more pleasant than bringing it to a termination by the completion of it. Adieu for the present.

"I remain,

"Yours very sincerely and obliged,

"RAMMOHUN ROY.

"Miss CATHERINE CASTLE."

"48 BEDFORD SQUARE.

"*July 24th.* 1833.

"DEAR MADAM,—From my anxiety to proceed to Bristol heavy duties appeared to me light, and difficult tasks had seemed easily manageable. The consequence was that I met with disappointments from time to time, which I felt severely. To-day is the third reading of the India Bill in the House of Commons, after long vexatious debates in the Committee, impeding its progress under different pretensions. After the Bill has passed the Lower House, I will lose no time in ascertaining how it wlll stand in the Upper Branch, and will immediately leave London without waiting for the final result. I will proceed direct to Bristol next week, and on my way to [from ?] London I will endeavour to visit my acquaintances at Bath and its vicinity. I deeply regret that I should have been

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prevented from fulfilling my intention this week, by circumstances over which I had no control.

"I feel very much obliged by your kind suggestions contained in my son's letter. You may depend on my adhering to them. I intend to leave this place a little before ten a.m., that I may arrive there on the morning of the following day. Before I leave London I hope to be able to procure the situation for your young relative. Pray present my kindest regards to Miss CASTLE, and believe me, dear Madam,

"Yours very sincerely.

"RAMMOHUN ROY.

"Miss ANN KIDDELL."

"48 BEDFORD SQUARE,
August 16*th*, 1833.

"DEAR MADAM,—I have now the pleasure of informing you that I feel relieved, and will proceed to Stapleton Grove on Thursday next. I beg you will excuse this short letter as I am incessantly engaged in making preparations, particularly in writing letters to India and in different parts of this country. Pray give my love to my son and my kind regards to Miss CASTLE, and believe me, dear Madam,

Yours very sincerely,

RAMMOHUN ROY.

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"P. S.—Miss HARE presents her compliments to yourself and Miss CASTLE. R. R.

"Miss KIDDELL,

Stapleton Grove, near Bristol."

Alas! The happiness of the meeting in Bristol with friends so much esteemed,—the interchange of thought with congenial minds so long anticipated, was destined by the Supreme Disposer of all to be but of short duration. No visit most delightful, but too short, remained to be treasured in the memory of the noble guest with affectionate regret at its termination!—Before the letters reached India, the hand that traced them was cold in death!—And we who had rejoiced in his presence were mourning his departure!

Thou orderest all things well, O Father, and we will trust where we cannot trace!

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Chapter III.

VISIT TO BRISTOL.
THE RAJAH'S DEATH, AND INTERMENT.

EARLY in the month of September, 1833, the Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY arrived at Stapleton Grove, near Bristol, accompanied by Miss HARE, the daughter of his late esteemed friend, Mr. DAVID HARE, of Calcutta, who then resided with her uncles in Bedford Square; he was attended by his two Hindoo servants, RAMHURRY DOSS and RAMROTUN MUKERJAH. His son, RAJAH RAM ROY, was already at Stapleton Grove, as we learnt from the letters in the preceding chapter.

Stapleton Grove is an agreeable and commodious mansion, which might well be selected as an example of an English gentleman's country residence. It had belonged to Mr. MICHAEL CASTLE, a highly esteemed Bristol merchant, and one of Dr. CARPENTER'S congregation. On the death of that gentleman, and shortly after that of his wife, Mrs. CASTLE, Dr. CARPENTER undertook

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the charge (they had requested him to fulfil), of being one of the guardians of their only child, a young lady of great promise; they had requested him to undertake this charge as they confided unreservedly in his excellent influence, and good judgment in directing her.

As neither Dr. CARPENTER'S professional engagements, nor the nature of his own establishment, authorized his seeking the privilege he would so greatly have valued of receiving his distinguished friend in his own house, it had been arranged soon after the Rajah's arrival in England, that whenever he was able to visit Bristol he should take up his abode at Stapleton Grove, where Miss KIDDELL and Miss CASTLE esteemed it a high honour to receive him, and would do all in their power to render agreeable his stay in the neighbourhood.

After his exciting life in London, the Rajah was doubtless glad of the quiet of a country life, and we do not hear of his having made any public appearance, or sought for gaiety or places of amusement, during his too brief abode near Bristol. But almost every day, if not daily, he and Dr. CARPENTER had friendly intercourse, either at Stapleton Grove or at Dr. C.'s residence in Great George Street, and it is needless to say that increased acquaintance with the illustrious

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stranger tended only to increase the affection, admiration and respect, already felt for him.

In the House of Prayer where Dr. CARPENTER officiated, Lewin's Mead Chapel, the Rajah worshipped on two successive Sundays, the last he was to spend on earth in the public services of religion.

"On the first," says Dr. CARPENTER, "I addressed this congregation from words in the 18th chapter of the First Book of Kings; where, after the solemn sacrifice on Mount Carmel, and the proof from heaven that Jehovah is God alone, the Prophet of the Lord, after sending for six times in vain, received, at the seventh, the report of his servant, 'There ariseth a little cloud out of the sea like a man's hand.' In that discourse I adverted, with earnest respect, to the recent death of Mr. WILBERFORCE, who had lived to see the seal put to the accomplishment of purposes to which the greatest labours of his life had been directed; and it was my intention, when I again preached in the morning, to continue the subject, by adverting to various other facts in the divine government, where great and effectual and lasting good was begun in circumstances which called for the faith as well as the hopefulness of the servants of God; in some of which it seemed as if nothing were achieved or even effectually commenced;—

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all contributing to cheer the wearied disappointed heart under difficulties and opposition, and affording abundant encouragement to 'the patience of hope and the labour of love'."*

On the next Sunday, Dr. C's colleague, Rev. R. B. ASPLAND, officiated; he says in reference to it, "I had to speak in behalf of Manchester New College. The appeal interested him, and he sent me by Mr. ESTLIN a kind message, intimating his purpose of seeing me, and sending through me a contribution to the College. He did not live to fulfil his purpose."

The work of the Hindoo Reformer had long been known in Bristol, and about eight years before, his services in the cause of philanthropy and religion were in an especial manner brought forward to this congregation, when an appeal was made to it, answered with even more than its wonted liberality, to assist in the establishment of Unitarian worship in the capital of British India.

His appearance, then, in Lewin's Mead Chapel was warmly welcomed, and is recollected by many with deep interest. He intended visiting other places of worship, as he had done in London, his spirit being truly catholic.

It will be remembered that seventeen years

* This sermon, "The Prophet's Cloud," is in the volume of Dr. CARPENTER'S printed discourses.

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before, the Rajah had first worshipped with Christians in the family of EUSTACE CAREY, and received from him a copy of Watt's Hymns; little did that gentleman know how that volume would be treasured. "It was a common practice with the Rajah," says Dr. C., "as he went to public worship, to read some of Dr. WATT'S Hymns for Children; and he frequently dwelt with great and earnest interest on the verse,

"Lord! how delightful, 'tis to see
A whole assembly worship thee:
At once they sing, at once they pray;
They hear of heaven and learn the way."

Several persons well known in the literary world had the opportunity of conversing with the Rajah. The celebrated essayist, Rev. JOHN FOSTER occupied a house adjoining Stapleton Grove, which he rented from Miss CASTLE. Mention is made of his interviews with the distinguished stranger in the life and correspondence of that eminent man.

Even in cases where there had been a prejudice against the Rajah, though we cannot suppose that there could have been many of these, his personal influence soon removed it; this is remarkably shown in a letter of Mr. FOSTER'S to a friend, dated October 8, 1833:—

"I had entertained a strong prepossession

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against him (the Rajah), had no wish to see him, but could not avoid it, when he was come to the house of our young landlady, Miss CASTLE. My prejudice could not hold out half-an-hour after being in his company. He was a very pleasing and interesting man; intelligent and largely informed, I need not say—but unaffected, friendly, and, in the best sense of the word polite. I passed two evenings in his company, only, however, as a unit in large parties; the latter time, however, in particular and direct conversation with him, concerning some of the doctrines of the Indian philosophers, the political, civil, and moral state of the Hindoos." *

A large party was invited to meet the Rajah at Stapleton Grove, on the 11th of September. Of this Dr. CARPENTER says.—

"In the conversation at Stapleton Grove were men fully competent to judge of intellectual power and one and all admired and were delighted by the clearness, the closeness, and the acuteness of his arguments, and the beautiful tone of his mind. In the second of the two conversations at which Mr. FOSTER was present, the Rajah continued for three

* *Vide* FOSTER's Life and Correspondenee, Vol. II., p. 94.

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hours, standing the whole time, replying to all the inquiries and observations that were made by number of gentlemen who surrounded him, 'on the moral and political state and prospects of India, and on an elucidation at great length of certain dogmas of the Indian philosophers.' Admiring respect was, I may say, the sentiment of all present."

There was on that occasion much conversation on religious topics, and as those last statements of the Rajah's views possessed peculiar interest, as well as much importance, after his lamented death, Dr. CARPENTER requested a written statement respecting their recollection of them from two gentlemen who were present, Rev. JOHN FOSTER and Dr. JERRARD. These are inserted in his "Review"—

"'To the Rev. JOHN FOSTER, Stapleton.

"'GREAT GEORGE STREET, 12*th Oct.*, 1833.

"'DEAR SIR,—You cannot have forgotten the remarkable conversation at Stapleton Grove on the 11th ult., principally between Dr. JERRARD and the Rajah, on the subject of the extent and reasons of the Christian belief of the latter. May I solicit your opinion as to the correctness of the following position—that the Rajah's declarations at that time authorize the conviction that he believed in the divine authority of Christ,

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though he rested this belief on internal evidence; and that he believed in the resurrection of Christ.

" 'May I further ask, if any thing that passed elsewhere in your hearing threw any doubt into your mind whether he believed in the divine authority of Christ?

" 'If you deem the position correct, and answer the inquiry in the negative, may I, *to that extent* speak of you as among others at the conversation to which I refer?

" 'I am, &c.

" 'LANT CARPENTER.

"To this I received the following reply, which must set the question at rest. For the fulness of its statement, and for the permission to employ it, I feel greatly obliged to Mr. FOSTER, as will also many other friends of the Rajah.

" 'STAPLETON, *Oct.* 14.

" 'DEAR SIR,—My memory is so very defective that I have no doubt your own, and that of each of the gentlemen of the party at Stapleton Grove, will have more faithfully retained many particulars of the conversation with that most interesting person, the Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY. I cannot recollect whether, in replying, with promptitude and the utmost apparent frankness, to the respectful inquiries concerning his religious opinions, he

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expressed in so many exact words his 'belief in the divine authority of Christ.' But it was virtually such a declaration when he avowed, as he did unequivocally, his belief in the resurrection of Christ, and in the Christian miracles generally. At the same time he said that the *internal* evidence of Christianity had been the most decisive of his conviction. And he gave his opinion, with some reasons for it, that the miracles are not the part of the Christian evidence the best adapted to the conviction of sceptics.

"'This led one of of the gentlemen to observe, that surely the sceptics must admit, that if the miracles recorded were real facts, they must be irrefragable proof of truth of what they were wrought to attest; and that in so serious an affair the sceptics are under a solemn obligation to examine faithfully the evidence that they were actually wrought, which if they did, they would find that evidence decisive.

"'The Rajah instantly assented to this; but I thought I perceived by his manner that he had a slight surmise that the observation might possibly be meant to bear on *himself*, with some implication of a doubt, in consequence of what he had said of the inferior efficacy of the proof from miracles, whether *he* had an *entire* conviction of the reality of those recorded miracles; for he said, very

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pointedly, that any argument on that subject was quite superfluous as to *him*, for that he did believe in their reality.

"'It was of secptics generally that he spoke; but I thought it probable (from recollection of something in one of his writings), that he had especially in his mind the *Hindoo* sceptics, whose imaginations have been so familiarized with the enormous prodigies of the Brahminical Mythology, that, in spite of their rejecting them as monstrous fables, they retain an exaggeration of ideas, an incapacity of apprehending the true proportions of things, which will not allow them to see anything great and impressive in the far less prodigious wonders of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures: besides that their revolt from the belief of the fabulous miracles creates in them a tendency, unchecked by any due strength and discrimination of reason, to reject all others.

"'In the conversation with the Rajah in a party who had the gratification of meeting him in a few days later, there was not any distinct reference to his religious opinions. It turned on the moral and political state and prospects of India; and on an elucidation, at great length, of certain dogmas of the Indian philosophers.*

* Some letters from private individuals respecting the Rajah's visit to Stapleton Grove, were received subsequently to the publication of the first edition, and will be found in the appendix.

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"'If these few sentence can be of the smallest use to you, in any statement you may have to make or maintain respecting the Rajah's professions on the subject of religion, they are quite at your service for that purpose.

"'I am, &c.,

"'To the Rev. Dr. CARPENTER'. "'J. FOSTER.

"I addressed inquiries, in the same terms with first series in the note to Mr. FOSTER, to Dr. JERRARD, the able and intelligent Principal of Bristol College. Very pressing claims on his time and attention obliged him repeatedly to postpone the execution of his purpose to give me a full reply which I knew would be to the same effect with that of Mr. FOSTER; and at last he found it necessary to satisfy himself with sending me the following brief answer to my questions, which he has authorized me to employ in any way I judged proper.

"'1. The Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY expressed his belief in the divine authority of Jesus Christ, as an inspired teacher of righteousness, and an accredited messenger from God.

"'2. He explicitly declared that he believed in the miracles of Christ generally, and particularly in his resurrection, which he said was the foundation of the Christian faith, and the great fact on which he rested his own hopes of a resurrection'."

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These few days at Stapleton Grove left, then, very deep traces. "Those," says Dr. CARPENTER, "whom he had long honoured with his friendship, had opportunities of unreserved communication with him, on which they now dwell with deep interest and satisfaction. Several others who could appreciate his eminent qualities had friendly intercourse with him; and arrangements were made to enable more to know him personally, who had learnt to regard him with high respect. But ten days had scarcely elapsed before the fatal disorder began its ravages; and in less than ten days more the event arrived which has filled many a heart with dismay and sorrow."

Here our records of the Rajah's visit to Bristol are brought to a mournful close.

"It was the next morning," (the 17th) says Dr. C., "that I saw him for the last time during his life. He came down late to breakfast. I perceived that he was much exhausted with excitement and fatigue of the preceding evening; and I felt anxious that he should that day have rest. His complete rest was nearer than any heart, but his own perhaps, foreboded: yet he showed no indications of loss of mental power; and in the evening of that day, he conversed for several hours with his friends of Stapleton Grove, and the intelligent mother of Mr. ESTLIN, who regards it as a great

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privilege to have shared in this last most interesting interview."

"I was myself kept at home by indisposition; and I was unable to go to see him till my presence was likely to prove injurious. From the morning preceding his illness, therefore, I saw him no more, till the rest of death had ended all suffering, and, as respects personal intercourse, all earthly hope: but then, with his more privileged friends who had attended him to the last, I witnessed the benignant expression, still surviving, which had so often given a charm to his noble countenance, and which those who shared his intimacy can never have effaced from their recollection."

The account of the last scenes we copy from the private journal of Mr. ESTLIN, by the kind permission of his daughter. Though it is mournful and distressing to retrace in these records the gradual decay of nature in so noble a being, yet it will be soothing to the feelings of those who sorrow for his death in a foreign land, to perceive that he had every alleviation that devoted friendship could minister, or that medical skill could afford.

"BRISTOL, MONDAY, *September 9th*, 1833.—I went to Stapleton to call on RAMMOHUN ROY. I had much interesting conversation with him; he distinctly asserted his belief in the divine

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mission of Christ; the internal evidence of Christianity he considers stronger than the historical evidence of the New Testament. He gave me a little pamphlet translated from the Hindostanee. I mentioned to him Professor LEE'S assertion that he (RAMMOHUN ROY) denied the divine origin of Christianity. He said he had denied the divinity of Christ, but not of his commission.

"WEDNESDAY, 11TH.—Went with Dr. CARPENTER to Stapleton to dine. Met there Drs. JERRARD and SYMONDS, Messrs. FOSTER, BRUCE, WORSLEY, ASPLAND, &c., &c. The conversation at dinner was very interesting, the Rajah giving us an account of the process, mental and spiritual, which he went through in arriving at his present religious conclusions. His belief in the resurrection of Christ, and as the foundation of his faith in the general resurrection, he firmly declared.

"THURSDAY, 12TH.—I slept here. We had much interesting conversation at breakfast. I gave RAMMOHUN ROY some account of the West Indian negroes. He was not prepared for the statements I made, his knowledge being derived from the Missionaries chiefly. Miss KIDDELL, Miss CASTLE, the Rajah, and I, came into Bristol in their carriage. They called at 47 Park Street, for the Rajah to see my bees, with which he was much pleased.

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"FRIDAY, 13TH.—Saw patients at two, and at four went to Frenchay; there was a dinner party; the Rajah, Miss KIDDELL, Miss CASTLE, Dr. JERRARD, Mr. CURRY of Dublin, Mr. BRUCE, J. COATES, &c., &c. Conversation on politics. RAMMOHUN ROY attacked the Whig party for their mode of carrying the reform question.

"SATURDAY, 14TH.—I went to Stapleton Grove, and there met Dr. CARPENTER. We had pleasant conversation with the Rajah, and dined there.

"SUNDAY, 15th.—Miss KIDDELL'S carriage, with the Rajah, took MARY and me up on our way to Chapel. I gave him Dr. PRICHARD'S work (on "The Physical History of Man"), which I had borrowed of the Doctor for RAMMOHUN ROY'S perusal.

"TUESDAY, 17.—My mother went in the evening to spend a day or two at Stapleton Grove, to meet RAMMOHUN ROY.

"THURSDAY, 19th.—I rode over to Stapleton to see my mother, &c. Found the Rajah ill in fever; he saw me very willingly, and I prescribed for him. Called at Mr. BRIGHT'S counting-house to put off going to Ham Green; and at eight the Rajah's carriage came for me. I found him a little better, but still feverish. Mr. JOHN HARE

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and Miss HARE, with whom RAMMOHUN ROY lives, were there. I slept there.

"FRIDAY, 20th.—The Rajah no better. I came home by two in the Rajah's carriage; went out again to dinner. The Rajah had headache coming on, but it subsided on the effect of medicine. He slept in the evening, but with his eyes much open. On awaking about eleven, I found his extremities very cold and his pulse 130 and weak, with the appearance of collapse. Warm liquids and a little wine, and external warmth, relieved him, but his restlessness, changing from the bed to the sofa on the ground, was very great. I begged to-day he would allow Miss HARE to attend him constantly. He said it would be very improper. I assured him the customs in this country rendered it quite proper, and she was admitted. I had her called up after she had gone to bed, to stay up with the Rajah. He seems much gratified with my services, and glad for me to sleep here. I felt very anxious about him to-night, and told my mother I should propose PRICHARD'S seeing him to-morrow, if he were not better.

"SATURDAY, 21ST.—Miss HARE sat up with the Rajah, and informed me in the night how he went on. I saw him early; his pulse was better, and himself altogether improved; tongue no better. Miss KIDDELL proposed Dr. PRICHARD should

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see him, to which I cheerfully assented. Went into Bristol; saw some patients at two, and went out to Stapleton with PRICHARD to dine at five. I did not tell the Rajah of PRICHARD'S visit until he was in the house. The Rajah expressed his satisfaction, and told me after how much PRICHARD'S countenance indicated talent. Mr. HARE met us here, and highly approved of PRICHARD'S coming. I went to bed at eleven. Miss HARE sat up again.

"SUNDAY, 22ND.—The Rajah was very restless till towards morning, when he slept with his eyes much open. PRICHARD came at half-past eleven; I went in with him, but returned at three. Mr. HARE came out also. In the evening the Rajah was better, and I was in more spirits about him. He said while PRICHARD, Mr. HARE, and I were with him, that if he were to die, he had the satisfaction of knowing he had the best advice in Bristol. MARY and my mother went into meeting in Miss CASTLE'S carriage and returned. Miss HARE'S attention to the Rajah is most watchful and unwearied; she has great influence with him, making him take his medicine much better than I could. He is evidently much attached to her, and her regard for him seems quite filial.

"MONDAY, 23rd.—I rose a little before five.

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The Rajah had passed a restless night, having only interrupted sleep with his eyes open. He was much oppressed all day, taking but little notice as usually, and yet perfectly collected when roused. I became more apprehensive of the event, but still am inclined to regard his recovery as probable as his death. Miss HARE spoke in the morning of more advice. I urged it also; Mr. HARE, though on his own account he did not wish it, considered it proper in the case of so well known and distinguished an individual; and principally on his suggestion Dr. CARRICK was called in. He came with PRICHARD in the evening. The head appearing the organ most affected, leeches were applied. The Rajah was rather better at night. He has expressed to me his gratitude for my attentions, looks at me with great kindness, and constantly presses my hand. I assisted him into a warm bath in the earlier part of the day; he seemed somewhat relieved at night.

"TUESDAY, 24TH.—Mr. and Miss HARE and young RAJAH RAM sat up last night. I left them at eleven; returned to the sick chamber at five a. m. The Rajah's pulse was a little better than it was last night, and altogether he was not worse. CARRICK and PRICHARD came at twelve. During the day more composed

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and more quiet sleep, but with his eyes open. Towards evening and the night he is always worse.

WEDNESDAY, 25TH.—The Rajah slept a good deal, and was quieter than during any preceding night; pulse 102 and weak; Mr. HARE staidup. When he reported to me, between three and four a.m., the patient's state, he expressed alarm at the frequent weakness of the pulse; extremities disposed to be very cold, but easily becoming warm when covered; he spoke very little, but is sensible when roused. I came into Bristol about twelve; went to Stapleton to dinner. The Rajah is still very poorly and weak. A mattress has been placed on the ground for him, where he now lies without changing his situation. He seldom speaks.

"THURSDAY, 26TH.—Mr. HARE sat up during most of last night; he reported to me between three and four a.m. that the Rajah's pulse had sometimes been very weak and rapid, so as to make him feel very solicitous. He was in an imperfect sleep, with the eyes open most of the night. Dr. CARRICK came at eleven, and before PRICHARD arrived we were summoned to the room by Miss HARE, and found him with an attack of spasm, with convulsive twitchings of the mouth. These went on more or less for an hour or

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two, and he seemed not sensible of our visit, though in the morning when I went to him, he smiled at me and squeezed my hand in an affectionate manner. We had his hair cut off, and cold water applied to the head. After the spasms subsided, he appeared to sleep, the eyes still open, pupils small; the left arm and leg appeared paralysed. We settled to have Dr. BERNARD in the evening. I staid here all day, and am getting very apprehensive about the event. In the afternoon he became much warmer, and the pulse a little stronger, but spasms came on again about half-past six. He has swallowed with too great difficulty for many hours to allow of any quantity of nourishment, and he has been but little sensible since the morning, when he gave me his last look of recognition and thankfulness. Dr. BERNARD could not come—it was useless. PRICHARD and CARRICK left the Rajah in a dying state. Nobody went to bed before twelve. Miss KIDDELL was much with the Rajah; Miss CASTLE occasionally; Miss HARE, Mr, JOHN HARE and RAJAH RAM seldom out of the room; my mother looked in now and then,

"FRIDAY, 27TH.—The Rajah became worse every few minutes, his breathing more rattling and impeded, his pulse imperceptible. He moved

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about his right arm constantly, and his left a little a few hours before his death. It was a beautiful moonlight night; on one side of the window, as Mr. HARE, Miss KIDDELL and I, looked out of it, was the calm rural midnight scene; on the other, this extraordinary man *dying*. I shall never forget the moment. Miss HARE, now hopeless and overcome, could not summon courage to hang over the dying Rajah, as she did while soothing or feeding him ere hope had left her, and remained sobbing in a chair near; young RAJAH was generally holding his hand. I doubt if he knew any since morn yesterday. About half-past one, to please Miss KIDDELL, as life was fast ebbing from our admired friend, and nothing but watching the last breath remained for those around, I lay down on my bed with my clothes on. At half-past two Mr HARE came into my room and told me it was all over; RAM ROTUN was holding the Rajah's chin, kneeling by him; Miss HARE young RAJAH, Miss KIDDELL, Mr. HARE, my Mother Miss CASTLE, RAM HURRY and one or two servants were there also; his last breath had been drawn at twenty-five minutes past two a. m. During his last few moments RAM ROTUN, who is a Brahmin, on Mr. HARE desiring him to observe any custom usual among the Brahmins,

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Death-Mask of Raja Rammohun Roy now in the possession of the Rammohun Library and Free Reading Room, Calcutta.

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said some prayer in Hindostanee. When the ladies had retired, we laid the body straight on the mattress, and conversed with the Hindoo servants. About half-past three or four we all left the room, some of the servants sitting up in the adjoining room. I went to bed, but not to much sleep, the event of the night being too distressing. Our breakfast party was a melancholy one. Miss HARE remained in bed. PUGH, marble mason, came out with an Italian and took a cast of the Rajah's head and face.* Mr. J. HARE and I went into Bristol, and made arrangements about the examination to-morrow. Dr. CARPENTER came out to us in the morning.† We were all of us much in the room to-day with the body, which had a beautiful majestic look. The event is a stunning one to us."

"The Rajah repeatedly acknowledged, during his illness, his sense of the kindness of all around him, and in strong language expressed the confidence he felt in his medical advisers. It was a source of gratification to the friends with whom he resided in London, to find that, distressing as

* The cast is in the possession of Miss ESTLIN, Durdham Down, Bristol.

† Dr. CARPENTER was prevented by his own illness from seeing the Rajah before his death.

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the event was to the family he was visiting, he had every comfort and accommodation that a large house, a quiët and healthy situation, and attached and affluent friends could bestow.

"He conversed very little during his illness, but was observed to be often engaged in prayer. He told his son and those around him that he should not recover.

"An examination of the body took place on Saturday, whan the brain was found to be inflamed containing some fluid and covered with a kind of purulent effusion: its membrane also adhered to the skull, the result, probably of previously existing disease: the thoracic and abdominal viscera were healthy. The case appeared to be one of fever, producing great prostration of the vital powers, and accompanied by inflammation of the brain, which did not exhibit, in their usual degree, the symptoms of that affection."

"The knowledge that the Rajah," says Dr. CARPENTER, "had, in various ways, manifested solicitude to preserve his caste, with a view both to his usefulness and to the security of his property, and the belief that it might be endangered if he were buried among other dead, or with Christian rites, operated to prevent the interment of his remains in any of the usual cemeteries. Besides this, the Rajah had repeatedly expressed

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the wish that, in case of his dying in England, a small piece of freehold ground might be purchased for his burying place, and a cottage be built on it for the gratuitous residence of some respectable poor person, to take charge of it. Every difficulty, however, was removed by the offer of Miss CASTLE, in which she had the warm accordance of all her intimate friends, to appropriate to the object a beautifully adapted spot, in a shrubbery near her lawn, and under some fine elms. There this revered and beloved person was interred, on the 18th of October, about two p.m. The coffin was borne on men's shoulders, without a pall, and deposited in the grave, without any ritual, and in silence. Every thing conspired to give an impressive and affecting solemnity to his obsequies. Those who followed him to the grave, and sorrowed there, were his son and his two native servants, the members of the families of Stapleton Grove and Bedford Square, the guardians of Miss CASTLE and two of her nearest relatives, Mr. ESTLIN, Mr. FOSTER, and Dr. JERRARD, together with several ladies connected with those already enumerated: and as there could be no regular entry of the interment in any official registers, those who witnessed it have signed several copies of a record drawn up for the purpose, in case such a

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document should be needed for any legal purposes." (*Vide Appendix.*)

The venerable mother of Mr. ESTLIN thus recorded at the time her recollections of the events following the Rajah's death :—

"Soon after the Rajah's decease, it became a subject of deep interest *how* and *where* he should be interred. Miss CASTLE, and her aunt, Miss KIDDELL, wished to have him deposited in their family vault in Brunswick Square burying ground. But this Mr. HARE, his brother, and niece declared would be quite contrary to the Rajah's positive injunction, which was *to be buried apart from all others, not in a usual place of interment, nor with Christian observances,* fearing that if this injunction were not strictly complied with, he should lose caste, and thereby deprive his sons of their inheritance, and lessen his own influence in India. In these circumstances Miss CASTLE at once offered a place in her grounds well suited to the solemn purpose, which was gratefully accepted by the Mr. HARES, and thoroughly approved by her guardians and relatives.

"STAPLETON GROVE, FRIDAY, *October 18th,* 1833.—I attended, with a select number of mourning friends (perhaps twenty), the interment of the lamented Rajah.

"The scene was truly affecting and impressive.

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We all followed the coffin along the broad gravel walk, and through a winding path between the trees, which led to the beautiful spot selected, and consecrated indeed by being his resting place! Here we all stood around the open grave, in solemn silence, and watched with intense interest his sacred remains deposited in their last abode.

"We remained fixed to the spot for a considerable time, our minds filled with such thoughts as the awful scene could not but suggest, and I felt that no *words* were wanting to increase the proper feeling of our hearts. When at length an intention of retiring was manifested, a burst of grief was observed from those most nearly connected. The two Hindoo attendants who closed the funeral procession, stood leaning against the trees and sobbed aloud, as they took their last look at the grave of their late kind master. The sacred spot is in a recess surrounded by shrubs and trees, a beautiful seclusion near the lawn."

Mrs. ESTLIN described as follows the departure of the Hindoo servants :—

"OCTOBER 29TH, 1833—Mr. HARE having fixed the next day for the departure of the late Rajah's Hindoo attendants from Stapleton Grove, requested that they might be permitted to take leave of the ladies, and to express their grateful thanks. Accordingly they entered the drawing-

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room, bowing very low several times, returning their thanks for the many favours they had received. Miss KIDDELL then said, 'RAM ROTUN, you have, I understand, visited Mr. D. at his request.' 'Yes, I have.' 'Well, Mr. D. declares that you told him that when the Rajah was dying he prayed to 364 gods!' RAM ROTUN exclaimed, 'It is a great lie.' 'What then did you say?' said Miss KIDDELL. The Hindoo lifted his eyes and hands to heaven, and pointing in a most energetic manner upward, exclaimed, 'The Rajah prayed to Him—to that God who is here—who is there—who is all over—everywhere; to that God—the one God'!

"When they took their final leave they were extremely desirous to touch the ladies' hands. We all presented our hands in succession; to each they made a profound obeisance, bowing almost to the ground, and when they quitted the room they said, 'Oh! it is hard to go without our master.'"

The following account of the interment is derived from Mr. ESTLIN'S diary:—

"FRIDAY, 18*th*, *Oct.*, 1833. * * * The party assembled at Stapleton were young RAJAH and Miss HARE, Miss KIDDELL and Mr. JOSEPH HARE, Mr. JOHN HARE and Miss CARPENTER, Miss CASTLE and Dr. CARPENTER, my Mother and myself, HINTON CASTLE and Mrs. B. SMITH,

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MARY, Miss E. DAWSON and Miss FOSTER, Dr. JERRARD, Messrs. HARRIS, FOSTER, KIDDELL and G. SANDERS, RAM ROTUN and RAM HURRY, nearly in which order we followed the body in fours; it was brought out at about half-past one, without any pall; the attendants were merely in common mourning dress, and followed the body along the centre gravel walk, turning to the left over the lawn to the shrubbery, where it was to rest. It was then let down into the brick grave. The most perfect silence was observed, save when broken by the sobs of those who attended. RAM HURRY was particularly distressed. It was a most solemn and affecting ceremony. After a long silence Dr. CARPENTER said (there were servants and bearers, &c., about) that the departure from usual customs on this occasion was in compliance with what was known to be the Rajah's desire, and Mr. JOHN HARE desired RAM ROTUN to explain to the Rajah's friends and family in India that he lay in a spot by himself, and that no religious service was performed at his interment. We saw the lid of the shell screwed down over the coffin, and returned to the house. Dr. CARPENTER read a copy of verses written for the occasion."

The following reminiscences of these affecting scenes were recently written by the present author

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for the Hindoo gentlemen who then visited the Rajah's grave. As they faithfully record the vivid impressions of the time, she may be excused in introducing them here.

THE RESTING PLACE

OF THE RAJAH RAMMOHUN ROY.

"We mournfully and in solemn silence laid the sacred remains of the revered Rajah in the peaceful, beautiful spot we had chosen, on the 18th of October, 1833.

"How, but a few weeks before, we had rejoiced at his long-expected visit to us! We had for many years watched his Star in the East, rising in calm solitary grandeur, the herald, we hoped, of a glorious morn to benighted India. We had seen it pass steadfastly on its heavenly way through the midst of dark clouds, and even through fierce storms of persecution, and finally rise above them. My beloved Father, the devoted minister of pure Christianity, had viewed with intense thankfulness the efforts of this noble Hindoo to present to his countrymen the 'truth as it is in Jesus' free from all the corruptions with which ages had laden it, from all the creeds and articles of man's device, that they may be led by Christ, the beloved Son, to the Heavenly Father. It would be vain to attempt to describe our emotions on finding that this

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Champion of Truth had burst through all the fetters of prejudice and conventionality,—had crossed the ocean,—had come to our England,—had desired above all to embrace my Father, to whom he had long felt united in the bonds of Christianity,—had seen him,—had come to our city to be in daily intercourse with him! At the distance of thirty long years all this rises before me in its early freshness.

"My Father would have rejoiced to receive the Rajah into his own house, had he possessed fitting accommodation for so illustrious a guest. But his ward Miss CASTLE, a young lady of remarkable loveliness and maturity of mind, who resided with her aunt in a commodious mansion in beautiful grounds near Stapleton, felt highly honoured by the privilege of placing her house at his disposal. There he came; there gathered round him the wise and good who were able to obtain access to him; there JOHN FOSTER, of world wide celebrity for his unique and original writings, was a frequent domestic visitor; and there, or in his own house, my father saw him daily. How did he win the admiration and respect of all by his noble, princely bearing, and his gracious manners! How did I rejoice when it was my privilege to be in his company!!

"On one Sunday only did he join with us

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in worship in our Lewin's Mead Chapel. We were very happy to have him there among us. My Father had selected for his subject, 'The cloud no bigger than a man's hand,' in reference to the progress of negro emancipation, of which the devoted advocate, Mr. WILBERFORCE, had just been summoned from his labours; and he felt the text and the tenor of his sermon equally applicable to the hopes we had for India. The occasion was deeply interesting. The melancholy privilege had been given him of following to the grave the champion of the oppressed; little did he imagine that in a few short weeks he should be called on to offer a similar mark of respect and affection to his illustrious hearer,

"It was on the 17th of September, after the Rajah had been about ten days in Bristol, that my Father went over to breakfast with him at Stapleton Grove, and that day being my sister's birthday, she was allowed the special pleasure of accompanying him. The Rajah appeared in his usual health and spirits, and on their departure, with his accustomed courtesy, attended them to the garden gate. This was the last time they were ever so to see him. Mrs. ESTLIN, the venerable mother of our medical attendant, was staying at the house, and enjoyed his society

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that evening, doubtless delighting him also by going back to the last century, and telling him what she had seen at Paris, when on her wedding excursion, she and her husband were at Versailles, the last time the Court was held here, and found themselves in the midst of the great French Revolution; or how the Polish patriot, KOSCIUSKO visited Bristol, and received hospitality from them. This was his last evening of social intercourse. The next morning he was somewhat indisposed; then we heard to our grief that the Rajah was ill; then that he was worse; the best medical practitioners did all that human skill could do for him, but unavailingly; the fever gained ground rapidly, and soon the awful news arrived that he was dead! It was like a thunderclap to us! We had seen him in the full strength and prime of manhood; his noble majestic frame seemed likely to last to a ripe old age; we thought that a long career lay before him. The Heavenly Father knew best how His great work should be accomplished, and summoned this, His faithful labourer, to his rest, that others might enter into his labours.

"It were useless now to dwell on the grief and perplexity which filled all our hearts, on the darkness which seemed to brood over the future of India. Nor will I attempt to record my solemn

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thoughts, when I entered the death chamber, and, placed near those windows whence the living Rajah had so often looked out on our lovely English scenery, I stood by the coffin which contained his mortal remains.

"The Rajah's illness had been so sudden, and such perfect quiet and freedom from exciting topics had been enjoyed, as the only chance for recovery, that he had given no directions as to his last wishes. It was known, however, that he adhered to all Brahminical customs, which, in his opinion, did not savour of idolatry; this was not from any value which he attached to them, so much as to avoid all unnecessary cause of offence to his countrymen, which might lessen with them the influence of his writings. Two Brahmin servants continually attended on him, and after his death they found upon him the thread indicating his caste. The attached friends whose advice and assistance he had often sought in London, gave it as their opinion that with these known feelings of his, it would not be right to inter him in an ordinary burying ground; indeed, he had been heard to express the wish that if he died in England, a spot of ground should be purchased for him where he might lie in peace, and a cottage erected near to protect his resting place from intrusion. They thought, likewise that there must

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be no religious worship or rite performed at his interment.

"In accordance with these views it was considered best to select a secluded spot in the shrubbery shaded with beautiful trees, and there preparations were made for the last mournful rites. But these arrangements and necessary consultations occupied considerable time, and as much public interest had been excited by the visit of the illustrious stranger and his mournful death, my Father decided on paying the respect due to him of a funeral sermon in his Chapel, without further delay, and it was announced that on the evening of Sunday, October 6th, he would preach on the mournful subject. The Chapel-yard was thronged some time before the service commenced, and not only was every pew in the edifice densely crowded but seats in the aisles were speedily filled, and the whole vacant space was closely occupied by people standing. Never, before nor since, have I beheld such a crowd in that or in any other place of worship. All who knew my Father, or who had ever heard him preach, will imagine what feeling, what depth of spirituality, was infused into every part of the service. The grand fortieth chapter of Isaiah which he read, had to me a high significance which it had never had before, and to this day I seldom hear it or read it without thinking

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of the Rajah. The sermon need not be described, as it was printed. The conclusion of it was deeply impressive. Who would have thought that on the sixth anniversary of that solemn time, the voice that uttered those words would no longer be heard in that sacred place; that the farewell he then gave to his illustrious friend would be uttered to himself; that even a deeper grief would fill that House of God?

"At length all the preparations were made. The Messrs. HARE had come from London, and those only were invited to assemble at Stapleton Grove who had been personally connected with the Rajah; Miss CASTLE'S guardians and immediate connections, the Messrs. HARE and their niece, who had attended on him in this last illness like a daughter, and young RAJAH RAM, his adopted son, with the Brahmin servants; the medical attendants, including Mr. ESTLIN with his venerable mother and young daughter Dr. JERRARD, the celebrated JOHN FOSTER, my father and myself. Soon after noon was the shrine containing the mortal remains of that glorious spirit, slowly and solemnly, in the deepest silence borne down the broad gravel walk, followed by us his mourning friends, who had but lately known him in earth, but who hoped to meet him in the Father's Mansions above. The bearers

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wound along a shady walk, which his foot had doubtless often trodden, and there deposited their sacred burden in the appointed resting place! No voice ventured to express the deep thoughts which must have filled every breast! 'Who could have spoken over such a grave?' afterwards said JOHN FOSTER.

"On returning to the breakfast room, my Father expressed a wish to read to all present what he felt to be in harmony with the occasion, and to my surprise and confusion he read these sonnets, in which I had endeavoured to express my feelings, however inadequately. Then we separated to our homes."

The following sonnets are those composed after the death of the Rajah, and read by Dr. CARPENTER on the solemn occasion :—

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SONNETS

ON THE INTERMENT

OF THE

RAJAH RAMMOHUN ROY,

AT STAPLETON GROVE,

FRIDAY, the 18th of October, 1833.

I

THY Nation sat in darkness, for night
Of pagan gloom was o'er it :—Thou wast born
Midst superstition's ignorance forlorn :
Yet in thy breast there glow'd a heavenly light
Of purest truth and love ; and to thy sight
Appear'd the day-star of approaching morn.
What ardent zeal did then thy life adorn,
From deep degrading guilt to lead aright
Thy fallen people ; to direct their view
To that bless'd Sun of Righteousness, whence beams
Guidance to all that seek it—faithful—true ;
To call them to the Saviour's living streams.
The cities of the East have heard thy voice—
"Nations behold your God ! rejoice—rejoice."

Is. xl. 9.

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II.

Exil'd from home, e'en in thy earliest youth,
  The healing balm of woman's love was pour'd
  Into thy troubled breast: and thence were stor'd
Deep springs of gratitude and pitying ruth.—
To lead thy race to that primeval truth
  Which, bright and pure, on all alike bestow'd,
  Points heavenward; and to guide them on the road
Of Christian faith—was thine: but yet to soothe
Neglected woman; to assert her right
  To drink of wells of everlasting life;
To snatch her, trembling midst the dismal night
  Of pagan horrors, from the fiery strife
Of dark-soul'd zealots—*this* must wake our love,
This fervent raise our thanks for thee above.

III.

Far from thy native clime, a sea-girt land
  Sits thron'd among the nations;—in the breasts
  Of all her sons immortal Freedom rests;
And of her patriots many a holy band
Have sought to rouse the world from the command
  Of that debasing Tyrant who detests
  The reign of truth and love. At their behests
The slave is free; and Superstition's hand
Sinks powerless.—Hitherward thy steps were bent
  To seek free commune with each kindred soul,
Whose highest powers are ever willing lent
  To free their race from folly's dark control,
To our blest Isle thou didst with transport come:
Here hast thou found thy last, thy silent home.

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IV.

Thy work thou didst fulfil while yet 'twas day ;
And still right-onward towards thy beacon tend
With faith and zeal. And now thy footsteps bend
Where Christian friendship offers thee the stay
Of sympathy and love. But who shall say
What joy was ours, the eager ear to lend
To all the accents, and thy steps attend ?—
The Angel of the Lord hath called away
His faithful servant, at the evening hour,
While glowing tints still gild the western sky.
Yet though around our hearts dark sorrows lour,
And tears of sad regret must dim the eye,
We mourn not without hope. Thy race is run,
Enter thy rest ! Servant of God—"Well done" !

V.

Bright hopes of immortality were given
To guide thy dubious footsteps, and to cheer
Thine earthly pilgrimage. How firm and clear
Arose thy faith, that as the Lord hath risen,
So all his followers shall meet in heaven !—
Thou art gone from us ; but thy memory, dear
To all that knew thee, fades not : still we hear
And see thee yet as with us :—ne'er are riven
The bands of Christian love !—Thy mortal frame
With us is laid in holy silent rest :
Thy spirit is immortal ; and thy name
Shall by thy countrymen be ever blest.
E'en from the tomb thy words with power shall rise,
Shall touch their hearts, and bear them to the skies.

BRISTOL, *Oct.* 1833.

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Chapter IV.

TRIBUTES TO THE RAJAH'S MEMORY.

IT was indeed an appalling event,—a deeply affecting dispensation of Providence, which so unexpectedly deprived India of her noble son, and the world of one of the most remarkable men which the century has produced.

The hopes of all who loved mankind, and who felt an especial interest in that great country which had become so closely connected with our own, had been raised to very high expectation by the steady unwavering progress of the great Hindoo Reformer. Having watched him at a distance with high admiration, we had the privilege of receiving him into our homes and our social circles;—we had seen him in the midst of the attractions of our capital, steadily keeping in view his great object of promoting the welfare of his country, and making the gratification of any private wishes yield to this. We had witnessed his intense interest in the general diffusion of free principles, especially in England, a country whose

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destiny must so materially influence the East. Those who had any acquaintance with the less public proceedings of the Government, had observed how ready and able he was to afford all needed information ;—how courteous, humble and respectful in giving it ;—how firm and persevering in adhering to the course of duty ;—how patient and assiduous in waiting for and seeking the proper opportunities.

We trusted that he was now to rest awhile in the enjoyment of the intercourses of friendship, thus preparing to return with renewed strength to carry to his countrymen new light, and the assurances of help and sympathy from their brethren in England.

But it was not so ordered. The sun of India went down with tropical suddenness, and left us in the deepest gloom. We were bewildered and cast down. The noble form of him in whom we had seen the embodiment of all that was good and noble and lovable, and which had appeared likely to last for many long years, was laid low in death, even while the thought of him in apparent health and strength was fresh in our remembrance. He passed away without one message to his countrymen,—without one last testimony to the truths which he had laboured to establish,—without one expressed wish as to the future of his family, and

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especially of his adopted son, left thus in the land of strangers! He believed from the commencement of his illness that the hand of death was upon him, but, though his spirit was frequently in prayer, and though while consciousness remained he could give a loving, grateful look, and an affectionate pressure of the hand to those who were tenderly caring for him, disease checked all utterance of his wishes. Thus, too, was it ordered. In that solemn hour his faith in the Eternal Spirit resigned the labours of his life to higher keeping than his own, and his confidence in his friends left all else to them without distrust or anxiety. His faith had a sure foundation,—for it was based on that revelation of the Father of our spirits which was made by his well-beloved Son.

At this distance of time we can perceive some of the reasons of that appointment which appeared at the time so mysterious. India was not at that period prepared fully to appreciate its great reformer. Had he returned to his own country he might have received even greater opposition and persecution than he had before experienced; had he died there, it is not likely that the event would have excited any special interest at the time, judging from the remarkable want of it which was there manifested at the period of his decease. But now that forty years

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have witnessed great changes in his native land,—that some of his views have made much progress among his countrymen,—that important alterations have taken place in the position of our Government in reference to India, tending to remove the feeling of separation between the two nations,—it is now that the fact of the sacred remains of the Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY being laid in our country forms a kind of tie of relationship between us, while the reverence and love with which we treasure the memory of our distinguished guest are a token to them of our sympathy with themselves, and may give to his writings an added claim on their attention.

The death of the Hindoo Reformer attracted much attention in the journals of the day, and drew public notice to his life and labours. In all that we have met with, however, the sources of information were the same only as have already been laid before the reader in this volume, and it would be unnecessary to repeat them. We shall present therefore in this chapter such private testimonies of respect as have been preserved to us.

The testimony of the family of the Mr. HARES, with whom the Rajah resided in London, has been given to us by Dr. CARPENTER. He says,—

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"From this family I have received every advantage I could desire, in forming or confirming my opinions as to the Rajah's habits and character; and to the several members of it, his other personal friends must feel grateful for the numerous sources of comfort which he enjoyed among them. Mr. ARNOTT (in the 'Athenæum') says, with perfect justice, that they 'discharged the duties of hospitality towards him, ever since his arrival in England, with a kindness, delicacy, and entire disinterestedness, which are honourable to the English character.'

"Possessed of the Rajah's unbounded confidence, acquainted with all his movements, and enabled to judge with complete accuracy of his habits and dispositions, the unhesitating and unequivocal testimony of this family, one and all, to the unvarying purity of his conduct and the refined delicacy of his sentiments, is as decisive as it is valuable. I had, myself, repeated opportunities of observing with what earnest respect he appreciated true delicacy in the female character: and I learn that, while he always maintained his habitual politeness to the sex, and may therefore have misled the superficial observer, he manifested a very prompt and clear discrimination as to individuals; and that he commonly expressed strong dislike, and even disgust

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where they seemed to him to depart from that true modesty which is essential to its excellence.

"Mr. JOSEPH HARE—his brother fully agreeing with him—assures me, that the Rajah was constantly in the habit of dictating, to those who were for the time acting as amanuenses, in phraseology requiring no improvement, whether for the press or for the formation of official documents—such verbal amendments only excepted, as his own careful revision supplied before the final completion of the manuscript: that he often had recourse to friends to write from his dictation; among others to himself and the members of his family: that it is his full conviction, that, from the day of the Rajah's arrival in this country, he stood in no need of any assistance except that of a mere *mechanical* hand to write: and that he has often been struck—and recollects that he was particularly so at the time the Rajah was writing his 'Answers to the Queries on the Judicial and Revenue Departments'—with his quick and correct diction, and his immediate perception of occasional errors when he came to revise the matter. These facts I and others have repeatedly heard from the Mr. HARES; and I rest with conviction upon them. It is happy for the Rajah's memory that he lived in the closest intimacy and

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confidence with friends who are able and willing to defend it, wherever truth and justice require."

Mrs. ESTLIN recorded at the time some interesting particulars which she learnt from Miss HARE. "The Rajah read the Scriptures daily in Hebrew and Greek. Miss HARE often read them to him also;—this was never omitted at night. He was also in a constant habit of prayer, and was not interrupted in this by her presence;—whether sitting or riding he was frequently in prayer. He told Miss H. that whenever an evil thought entered into his mind he prayed. She said, 'I do not believe you ever have an evil thought.' He answered, 'O yes, we are all liable to evil thoughts.'"

A touching mark of respect to the memory of her illustrious guest was given by Miss CASTLE.* A fine painting of the Rajah by BRIGGS, R. A., was brought to Bristol for exhibition; Miss CASTLE purchased it and presented it to the Bristol Philosophical Institution, that all who visit the place of his death may there see his living likeness. It is from this beautiful picture that the frontispiece is taken. The Rajah's personal appearance, which is well represented in this picture,

* This estimable young lady did not long survive the Rajah. After a tedious and wearing illnes she died December 3, 1835 aged 22.

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is thus described in the *Asiatic Journal*, as quoted by Dr. CARPENTER in the appendix to his sermon :—

"The person of RAMMOHUN ROY was a very fine one. He was nearly six feet high ; his limbs were robust and well-proportioned, though latterly, either through age or increase of bulk, he appeared rather unwieldy and inactive. His face was beautiful ; the features large and manly, the forehead lofty and expanded, the eyes dark and animated, the nose finely curved and of due proportion, the lips full, and the general expression of the countenance that of intelligence and benignity. The best portrait of him extant, is a full-sized one by BRIGGS. It is a good picture, as well as an admirable likeness.' This portrait is now exhibiting in the Bristol Institution. I fully concur," Dr. C. continues, "in the *Journal's* praise of it. It gives, indeed, the impression of a less bulky person than the Rajah's was, in at least the later part of life ; and the mouth does not satisfy me in its form or its expression : but the rest of the countenance, the attitude of figure, and the hands—beautifully significant, as well as masterly painted—give that expression to the whole which those who contemplate RAMMOHUN ROY as the Hindoo Sage and Reformer would most desire. It is the expression of devout, reflecting, benignant philanthropy ;

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hopeful, yet with a tinge of pensive solicitude; looking onward, and upward, and contemplating the gleams of truth and righteousness breaking forth to enlighten and to bless his country."

Miss AIKIN thus writes of the Rajah to Dr. CHANNING, in a letter dated Hampstead, Oct. 23, 1833:—

"I have had your line by Dr. TUCKERMAN. I was in Kent when he called here, and therefore only saw him last week, but I am exceedingly struck and delighted with him, and impatient to hear him speak more of his noble exertions and designs. On Thursday next I hope he and Mr. PHILLIPS will meet over my breakfast table my friend Mr. LE BRETON and dear JOANNA BAILLIE. You will be with us in spirits, for many associations will bring you to the minds of all of us. When I have the privilege to be present at a meeting like this, of the gifted and the excellent from the far ends of the earth, it seems to me a foretaste of the happiness reserved for the world of spirits. Alas for one who gave me this feeling beyond all others—the admirable RAMMOHUN ROY! He has been frustrated of one of his cherished hopes, that of seeing you face to face, either in this or the other hemisphere—but you were no strangers to each other. Scarcely any description can do justice to his admirable qualities, and the charms

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of his society, his extended knowledge, his comprehension of mind, his universal philanthropy, his tender humanity, his genuine dignity mixed with perfect courtesy, and the most touching humility. His memory I shall cherish with affectionate reverence on many accounts, but the character in which I best love to contemplate him is that of the friend and champion of woman. It is impossible to forget his righteous zeal against polygamy, his warm approval of the freedom allowed to women in Europe, his joy and pious gratitude for the abolition of *suttee*. Considering the prejudices of birth and education with which he had to contend, his constant advocacy of the rights and interests of the weaker sex seems to me the very strongest proof of his moral and intellectual greatness."

The following letter from Dr. BOOTT, an American physician of London, to Mr. ESTLIN, is a most valuable testimony to the Rajah's religious character :—

"24, GOWER STREET, BEDFORD SQUARE,

"*November 27th*, 1833.

"MY DEAR SIR,—Your kind, most kind letter of yesterday, has this moment reached me, and I have shed tears over it, at the fresh recollection

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of the sorrow that has thrown a deep shadow over the future hopes and happiness of my life. I feel the most sincere gratitude to you for your valuable services, and your devotion and tenderness over the sick bed of our late beloved friend. God knows I have deeply sympathised with you in the painful responsibility of your situation, and I am well assured that everything which the soundest medical judgment, and the deepest solicitude could suggest, was done. In the feelings of all around me here, who dearly loved him, you and Dr. PRICHARD are spoken of with sincere and grateful respect, and the blessing of a just man made perfect now rests upon you.

"Your account of the change in your feelings towards the Rajah, from the influence of the reports that had reached you, has very deeply affected me; for knowing the Rajah so well, it is the most striking evidence of the force of human prejudice that I have hitherto met with,—I mean on the part of those who misrepresented him to you; for your yielding to those representations arose from the same sensibility that led you first to admire him in his works. I thank God that you had an opportunity of tearing yourself the veil from your eyes, and that the primitive love and admiration you cherished for him was confirmed by your personal intercourse with him;

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confirmed to be rendered immutable by the seal of Death !

"To me he stood alone in the single majesty of, I had almost said, perfect humanity. No one in past history, or in present time, ever came before my judgment clothed in such wisdom, grace and humility. I knew of no tendency even to error. To say he was not the disciple of Christ, that he even smiled in approbation of infidelity, and joined those thoughtless and weak and ignorant men who set themselves up against the testimonies of the human heart, which asserts the truth of religion against the wit and the follies of the vainest and the cleverest head, is to belie his whole life. I have often talked with him on religious subjects and have seen him amid sceptics. He was never more free and unembarrassed and cheerful, than when arguing with those who had a logical and acute mind. He often told me that he always introduced the subject when he met the historian of India, and that his object in the argument was to show the insufficiency of human reason for the production of the highest moral worth, and the highest happiness. He even contended that 'the Spirit that was in Christ Jesus', and unknown and unrevealed till his mission, directed the human mind to more elevated, purer, and more disinterested thoughts, motives and actions,

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than the noblest philosophy of antiquity did or could do; that the Christian precepts left nothing to desire or to hope for through futurity; that, as a system of morality, it was alone able to lead to purity and happiness here, and to form the mind for any conceivable state of advancement hereafter. He often beautifully said, 'I can never hope in my day to find mankind of one faith, and it is my duty to exercise the charities of life with all men.' He did not go about with the spirit of proselytism. He argued only for the sense of religious obligation, and emphatically assured us that all his experience of life had exhibited to him virtue and selfrespect and happiness in its true elements, even in proportion to the intensity of that sense. He was the humblest of human beings, and ardent as he was in the faith of his selection, he was sensibly disturbed if religion was spoken highly of, or argued but reverentially before woman. He would often smile and speak jocosely when the turn of the discussion made him uneasy from his sensibilities towards woman being awakened; and those who knew him, saw by his manner and looks that he adopted this lightness of manner in hopes that the subject would be dropped.

"I was once in his presence where a father was expressing doubts of Christianity before two

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of his daughters, who were near forty, and before three other ladies. He expressed himself most forcibly in defence of the immutable truth of the religion, and when the conversation was resumed by the sceptic, he touched lightly and with levity on the diction and expressions of the other, and often in the interval sat as if he were abstracted and unconcerned in what was said; and when appealed to, he in the same careless manner criticised the language of his opponent, without touching the sense. A lady whom he loved sat by me, and said in an under tone to me, 'The Rajah appears to smile at everything.' I replied, Your words import more than you mean, and you mistake his present feelings; he is visibly distressed, and wishes the subject to be dropped.' She observed him closely, and said I was right, as he took an early opportunity of calling his attention to something else. He soon after left the party. I had an engagement with him the next morning, and the first subject he spoke of was the conversation the night before, and he expressed himself highly offended that a father should, before his own daughters, confess his infidelity and so far forget himself as to say anything to shake the faith of a female. He added, 'it is more painful to me to argue with sceptics before women, for there is no hope of its leading to

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good, and there must be pain where it is our duty to give pleasure always; I never permitted religion to be discussed before my daughters or wife.' I can only say that at every visit my admiration of him grew with my intimacy with his mind and actions. He was the most liberal, the most amiable, and the most candid of men. His generosity was unbounded; his most touching politeness was an instinct of his nature; it never left him to his most familiar associates; while he paid just deference to rank, in obedience to the conventional etiquette of society, he honoured above all men the poor gardener whom he met with in some rich establishment in India, who had, uninfluenced by the authority of his superiors, examined the Scriptures, and adopted the faith of the Unity of God. He went to the garden every day to talk with him, and he often said to us, 'I could have taken him in my arms as a brother.' I called with him on Dr. TUCKERMAN, Mr. DEWEY, and Mr. PHILLIPS, of America, and when he had shaken hands with them he said, with his countenance lighted up with animation, 'I am so happy to be with Unitarians. He did not mix in the sect as some expected, and reflections were often passed upon him. Mr. Fox has touched this with admirable force in his sermon. The object of the Rajah was to mix with and

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know all sects. One of his greatest desires was to see Catholicism at Rome. He admired the obedience to duties in the Catholics, and always spoke of them in this light with admiration. Whatever faults were mixed with their faith, he recognised in their attention to the poor and sick, the noblest spirit of Christianity. One of the last arguments I heard from him was his defence of them, against one who urged their acting under an artificial stimulus. He contended that what they did was enforced on all, by the very example of Christ; and that the stimulus was their faith in the force and truth of that example.

"But I must stop. When I think that I shall see him no more; that the beauty of his countenance, the picturesqueness of his eastern costume, the kind reception, the noble example of virtues I never felt, at least so powerfully, in others, the hope I had entertained of his future usefulness, the certainty I had of his present happiness, and all his enlarged affections,—when I think that these have passed away for the forever of my brief existence, I feel a sorrow such as I never felt before, and one which can only find consolation in that pure religion of which he was so able a defender. His loss has given tenfold value in my mind to his writings, and I have studied them with a subdued feeling since his death, and risen

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from their perusal with a more confirmed conviction of his having been unequalled in past or present time. Peace to his sacred memory!

"Present my best respects to Miss ACLAND and Dr. CARPENTER, and believe me,

"My dear Sir,

"Sincerely and gratefully yours,

'T. BOOTT."

Dr. BOOT speaks of accompanying the Rajah to visit Dr. TUCKERMAN, the originator of Domestic Missions, whose devotion to his work exhausted his physical strength, and led him to seek restoration in our country; Dr. TUCKERMAN was an intimate friend of Dr. CHANNING, with whose spirit he had so long held valued communion. This meeting with one of the most devoted followers of the Saviour, and one who had deeply imbibed his spirit, was afterwards spoken of by the Rajah with deep interest. Its effect on Dr. TUCKERMAN himself was thus described by him in a letter to Dr. CARPENTER :—

"I had interchanged a few letters with that great and excellent man while he was in Calcutta; and had looked with the highest interest to the hour when I should see him in England. And devoutly do I thank our heavenly Father that I was permitted to see him. Before I met him

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here, he was, however, comparatively only an object to me of exalted admiration. But I had not been an hour with him, before that revelation was made to me of his heart, which called forth the far higher and more delightful sentiment of *love*. Yes, in the acquaintance of an hour he became to me an object of very high and strong affection; for I saw in him the most unequivocal evidence of an advancement in Christian piety and virtue,—which I have seen in few, of those very few, who have been born and reared under the strongest lights, and best influences of our religion."

The following poetical tributes to the Rajah's memory evidence the deep feeling which his character and death excited :—

THE INTERMENT
OF
THE RAJAH RAMMOHUN ROY,
AT STAPLETON GROVE.

BY MISS DALE.

No voice, no whisper broke the deep repose,
When to the earth that sacred dust was given;
All silently the sacrifice arose
From kindling hearts, in one pure flame, to Heaven.
Pure from the sun of righteousness it came
Upon those hearts. Language, to common thought

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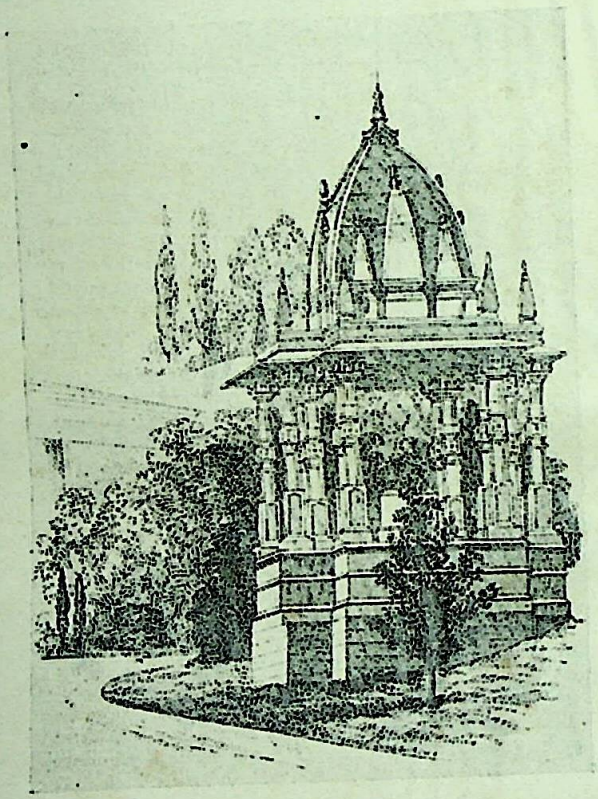

Tomb of Raja Rammohun Roy, at Arnos Vale Cemetry.

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H. RAY & SONS.

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Interpreter, had dimmed that holy flame
Or, with the prism's power, to sight had brought
The varying hues which human frailty throws
O'er things divine. Oh! never more misplaced,
Than at that grave where narrow bounds inclose
Him, whose diffusive love had all mankind embraced.

STAPLETON GROVE.

THE RAJAH'S TOMB.

BY MISS ACLAND.

THIS is the spot! There needs no sculptured line;
No column marks the Rajah's lonely tomb;
But shadowing elms their drooping boughs incline,
And shroud his cold remains in sacred gloom.

Yes; far from Ganges' consecrated wave,
Beneath our pallid groves, and northern skies,
A stranger's hand hath laid thee in thy grave,
And strangers' tears have wept thine obsequies.

A stranger? No; thy "caste" was human kind;
Thy home—wherever Freedom's beacon shone;
And England's noblest hearts exalting shrined
The turband offspring of a burning zone.

Pure generous mind! all that was just and true,—
All that was lovely, holiest, brightest, best—
Kindled thy soul of eloquence anew,
And woke responsive chords in every breast.

Sons of the western main around thee hung,
While Indian lips unfolded Freedom's laws,
And grateful woman heard the Brahmin's tongue
Proclaim her worth, and plead her widowed cause.

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Ah ! why did Fortune dash, with bitter doom,
That cup of high communion from thine hand,
And scatter, darkly withering o'er the tomb,
The blessings gathered for thy native land ?

Be hushed our murmurs ! He whose voice had won
Thee. heav'n bound trav'ler, forth from Pagan night,
In mercy called the trusting spirit on,
And bade it dwell with Uncreated Light.

Perchance when o'er thy loved paternal bower,
The Sun of Righteousness shall healing rise,—
When India's children feel his noon-day power,
And mingle all in Christian sympathies,—

Hither their pilgrim footsteps duly bound,
With fervent zeal, these hallowed haunts shall trace,
And sweetly solemn tears bedew the ground
Where sleeps the friend and prophet of their race !

A HYMN,

SUNG AT FINSBURY CHAPEL, MOORFIELDS, AFTER A FUNERAL SERMON

BY THE REV. W. J. FOX,

BY HARRIET MARTINEAU.

Music by Miss Flower.

No faithless tears, O God ! we shed
For him who, to Thine altars led,
A swallow from a distant clime,
Found rest beneath the cherubim ;
In Thee he rests from toil and pain,
O Father ! hear our true Amen.

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No faithless tears! Led forth by Thee,
Meek pilgrim to the sepulchre,
For him Thy truth from day to day,
Sprang up and blossomed by the way;
Shalt Thou not claim Thine own again?
O bend to hear deep Amen!

No faithless tears! Though many dream
To see his face by Ganges' stream;
Though thousands wait on many a shore,
The voice that shall be heard no more;
O, breathe Thy Peace amid their pain,
And hear Thy children's loud Amen!

SONNET

ON THE MEMORY

OF

THE RAJAH RAMMOHUN ROY.

WHEN from afar we saw thy burning light
Rise gloriously o'er India's darkened shore,
In spirit we rejoiced; and then still more
Rose high our admiration and delight,
When, steadfast to pursue thy course aright,
We saw thee brave fierce persecution's power.—
As yet we knew thee not,—but that blest hour
Which first disclosed thee to our longing sight,
Awakened in us deepest Christian love,
And told us thou hadst sat at Jesus' feet.
But now a glowing halo from above
Circles our thoughts of thee, when to the seat
Of mercy, rapt in ardent prayer, we come,
"Our Father! lead Thy wandering children home!"

M. C.

BRISTOL,
SUNDAY, *October 27th* 1833.

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One other tribute remained to be paid to the remains of this great man. Sacred as was the spot where he was laid, and requiring to those who knew and loved him no stone to mark the spot, beneath the overhanging trees, which their hearts reverenced,—yet it was right that the public should have access to his grave, and should see a befitting monument erected over it. This could not be done at Stapleton Grove, which had now passed out of the CASTLE family. The Rajah's friend, the celebrated DWARKANATH TAGORE, desired to pay this mark of respect to his memory, and it was therefore arranged that the case containing the coffin should be removed to the beautiful cemetery of Arno's Vale, near Bristol. This was suitably accomplished on the 29th of May, 1843, and a handsome monument was erected in the spring of the year following by his friend, the enlightened and celebrated DWARKANATH TAGORE. * A visit was afterwards paid by him to the spot, and recently by his grandson, SATYENDRA NATH TAGORE.

DWARKANATH TAGORE died also in a strange land, but he lies in a gloomy cemetery in London, Kensal Green, and no tomb befitting his rank has been erected to mark the spot. Surely his remains

* A Half-tone picture of Prince Dwarkanath Tagore is given in this edition.

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PRINCE DWARKA NATH TAGORE.

U. RAY & SONS.

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will be transferred to the spot where rests his noble friend !

Many of the countrymen † of the illustrious Brahmin have already visited the spot where reposes all of him that is mortal, and doubtless all will feel what is beautifully expressed by one of them,—"The place where lies the funeral temple of Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY is a sacred place for Hindoo Pilgrims !" May such a pilgrimage rouse and stimulate those who undertake it to fresh exertions for their country. "The memory of such a man," writes another, whose words have been already quoted in the preface, "must ever be dear to the Hindoos ; and it is the duty of those of our countrymen who can afford to visit England, not to return without paying their tribute of respect to the spot where rest the remains of that illustrious man. To perform this duty we have visited this famous city, which has the honour of possessing the mortal remains of RAMMOHUN ROY. It was the good name of your revered and pious father which brought the Rajah here, and it is that of the latter again which has attracted us here ; you can therefore imagine how greatly we must feel the satisfaction of having performed this pilgrimage (if I may so call it), with your

† A list of Indian gentlemen who visited the Raja's Tomb up to 1898 is given in appendix G.

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kind assistance. We hope that the performance of this duty will stimulate our exertions, and help us on in following the paths of truth and righteousness. My great ambition in life is to be useful to my country, and to do good to others; it is this strong desire that has brought me to this part of the world, in order to seek knowledge; and the acquaintance of the great and the good. Our prayer is that God may give us the power, ability and knowledge, which we may devote to the service of our country. The performance of duty is its own reward, and though our exertions may not bear any fruit in our lifetime, the thought of having done our *duty* will be the greatest happiness to us. May God hasten the day when all strifes and party feelings will subside,—when sects and castes will merge into *one*, that of *humanity*,—when we shall cease to regard the English, the Hindoo, and the Jew, as belonging to defferent nations,—and when we shall all sing, the

"FATHERHOOD OF GOD AND BROTHERHOOD OF MAN."

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Chapter V.

CONCLUSION.

It is probable that in many pulpits there were notices of the mournful event of the Rajah's death. The Rev. Dr. KENNEY, of St. Olave's Southwark, whose ministry RAMMOHUN ROY had frequently attended, preached a funeral sermon for him at the request of his parishioners; he also wrote a letter to Mr. J. HARE expressive of his warm attachment to the Rajah and high appreciation of his character. Five sermons were printed. In Lewin's mead Chapel, Bristol, where the Rajah had last worshipped. a funeral sermon was preached by Dr. CARPENTER to a densely crowded congregation on October 6th, 1833. It contains a full review of the labours, opinions and character of the Rajah, and was printed with a number of extracts from his writings, and with the Biographical Memoir at the commencement of this volume.

On the same Sunday, the Rev. R. ASPLAND

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preached a funeral sermon in the New Gravel Pit Meeting, Hackney, where the Rajah had not unfrequently been a listener. A large portion of the semon consists of biographical notices of the Rajah, and extracts from his writings, which had been already presented to the public by Dr. CARPENTER. It was, therefore, not intended for publication. But an edition of the sermon having made its appearance (printed, it is supposed, from notes taken at the time of delivery), whitout the sanction of the author, no alternative was left to him, unless he could consent to bear the imputation of putting out a mean and illiterate publication, in reference to a name entitled to every outward mark of respect. On the title page of the sermon are the appropriate lines of the poet of Paradise Lost and Regained :—

> "One man except, the only son of light,
> In a dark age, against example good,
> Against allurement, custom, and a world
> Offended."

The subject of the sermon is "The future accession of good men of all climes to Christianity, and their final congregation in heaven." Mr. ASPLAND thus prefaced it,—

"Judging that it would not be uncongenial with the feelings of the congregation, nor presumptuous on my part, nor perhaps, wholly unser-

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viceable to the cause of Christian truth, I ventured last Sunday morning to announce that I should adapt the present discourse to the melancholy event of the somewhat sudden and, according to the course of nature, premature decease of our distinguished oriental visitor, Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY; the rather, as he was an occasional worshipper in this House of Prayer, and repeatedly expressed that he felt a deep interest in this congregation. On that occasion, I stated that I did not meditate a mere eulogy upon the departed Brahmin. My object is to represent him as, with my means of knowledge, I consider him to have been, and to describe his religious character and profession as it appeared to myself, and to others that had still better means of forming a correct opinion. His condition in relation to Christianity was so peculiar; his rank and acquirements and labours justly attracted to him so much public attention; and so many contradictory statements have been made of his religious views, that it cannot be regarded as an indelicate or uninteresting inquiry, whether he embraced the gospel entirely and unreservedly, and what was his decision amidst the conflicting theories of Christian sects upon the true scheme of doctrine propounded in the Christian Scriptures."

Though the Rajah had not been able to visit

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Ireland, yet the Sister Isle was not uninterested in the visit of the Hindoo Reformer, and on October 27th, 1833, a sermon was preached in the Presbyterian Church of Strand Street, Dublin, on the occasion of his death, by the Rev WILLIAM HAMILTON DRUMMOND, D. D., which was published by special request. "The Rajah received addresses", Dr. DRUMMOND states, "from Ireland, particularly from Belfast and Cork, and a gentleman of this city was commissioned by the Irish Unitarian Society to invite him to a public entertainment. It was accordingly his intention to pay this country a visit. He seemed to take a deep interest in the affairs of Ireland, and I can state on the unquestionable authority of a friend, who was frequently in his society in London, that in the course of a month after his arrival, he had acquired such an intimate knowledge of its statistics, politics and religion, as might almost justify the belief that he had long been directing his exclusive attention to those subjects of enquiry."

A funeral sermon on the death of the Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY, was also preached in the Meeting House of the first Presbyterian Congregation, Belfast, on Nov. the 10th, 1833 by the Rev. J. SCOTT PORTER. This gentleman was associated with Mr. DAVISON, when the Rajah confided to

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him the care of his adopted son, and there, he states, he had the high gratification and honour of forming the acquaintance of that illustrious man. Mr. PORTER had the privilege of being admitted to some degree of intimacy with the Rajah who seldom failed to call at least once a week to inquire respecting his son's progress. He had thus peculiar opportunities of acquiring a knowledge of the Rajah's manner and mind, as developed in ordinary intercourse. To these he bears strong testimony in the discourse.

The last sermon was by Rev. W. J. Fox, which he delivered in Finsbury Chapel, London. He concluded it with this eloquent tribute to the noble and beloved friend from the East, who had departed from among us. "We shall see his face no more! His presence has passed away as a poetic image fades from the brain! But it has left impressions which will long endure; influences of good, wide and deep, here; yet wider and deeper in the distant land of his nativity. And, 'being dead, he yet speaketh' with a voice to which not only India but Europe and America will listen for generations. A few days of fever have made him dust. It appears that no skill could have saved a life which, as he was probably but in about the fifty-fifth year of his age, seems to us prematurely terminated. Subsequent to all other signs of con-

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sciousness, he indicated the yet surviving sense of the kindness of his friends, and, by silent devotion of the presence of his God. His body will be silently committed to its rest in ground only hallowed by its reception—the noblest of all consecrations. Many will there be whom personal attachment will draw towards that spot, and it *should* draw them thither; for it is good to weep over the grave of such a man, and makes the heart better. Good will it be for them, there, to adopt as the rule of their own conduct his favourite quotation from the Persian poet, which he often wished should be inscribed on his tomb—'THE TRUE WAY OF SERVING GOD, IS TO DO GOOD TO MAN.'

"And if we shed at his death 'no faithless tears,' such is the service which the contemplation of his life will stimulate us to render. God is not served by our forms and ceremonies, our creeds and anathemas, our wild emotions, or our bustling zeal. He will have mercy, and not sacrifice. The garland with which the Hindoo decks his idol is not less worthy heaven than the useless observances and mysterious dogmas, by the faith and practice of which many who are called Christians, have thought to propitiate God. The dissemination of knowledge, the mitigation of suffering, the prevention of oppres-

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sion, the promotion of improvement, the diffusion of a beneficent piety,—these are God's work, for us, towards others; and they are all reflected upon ourselves in the building up of our own characters to intellectual and moral excellence. 'Speaking the truth in love,' we shall best bear our own testimony, and prolong theirs who have joined the 'cloud of witnesses' that compass us about, as we 'run the race set before us, looking unto Jesus.' The voice of duty may not call us to quit either country or kindred; but our souls have their pilgrimage of faith to pursue, through varied trials, to our Father's house, in which there are many mansions, wherein ultimately shall be gathered together the whole family of heaven and earth. Already should our hearts feel the bond of that holy fraternity,—the love which never faileth, which never shall fail, in time or in eternity; for it is the essence and the influence of God, and 'he that loveth dwelleth in God, and God in him.'

"Thus may we anticipate, according to our usefulness and progress, acceptance in degree like that which awaited our departed visitant and friend. For may we not devoutly trust that the Great Master has received him with—'Well done, good and faithful servant, enter thou into

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the joy of thy Lord;' and that patriarchs and prophets, apostles and confessors, philosophers and reformers, the holy and illustrious of all times and countries, gathering round to greet a brother, have responded in gratulation, Amen even so, Lord Jesus;"

Here we bring to a conclusion the notices we have been able to collect of the last days in England of the illustrious Hindoo Reformer, the Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY,—a man who, though he was greatly admired and appreciated during his life by those who could discern even a small portion of his greatness, will perhaps be far better comprehended, and therefore exert a far wider influence over his countrymen, now that the time has removed some of the barriers which separated him from them during his lifetime. India will doubtless not much longer delay to prepare for him an endurifig tribute of reverence and respect, as well as to perpetuate the history of his life for future generations. It is probable that the painting from which the frontispiece is copied is the best representation of his living form that exists;—while the bust taken after death preserves his actual form. Will the capital of his country long remain without the honour

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of possessing such a statue of him as may show to future generations the noble benefactor of his country? Ere all have passed away who personally knew him in India will not efforts be made to collect all that can be known respecting him into a complete and permanent Memoir?

There is, however, one further mark of respect due to this illustrious Reformer, which he would value more highly than any other.

We have seen how earnestly he laboured to disseminate the great truths which he had devoted his whole life to discover, and to present them to his countrymen for their serious consideration in a simple and popular form. To accomplish this he spared no expense, no time, no personal exertion. His unexpected, and, to our narrow view, premature summons to the other world, prevented his accomplishing all he had purposed in this respect. His works were never given to his countrymen and to the world in a connected series:—many of the books which he published are now out of print,* and it is probable that manuscripts of his may yet be discovered which he intended for publication, had not death arrested his hand.

* This defect has since then been removed by the publication of his works.

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Let his countrymen undertake the sacred task of collecting and publishing in a complete and permanent form all his works, and of rendering those of them to which he attached the greatest importance acceptable to the public generally by being printed in a cheap and popular edition. Thus will the most enduring monument be raised to his memory! Thus may his high and excellent aspirations be enabled to kindle the hearts of generation after generation of his countrymen, and through them of countless multitudes. Listening with reverence to his voice, now speaking to them from the World of Spirits, may his countrymen be led on by him to a pure and holy religion, which will guide them in peace and happiness through this world, and prepare them for another and a better. And thus without distinction of country or clime, shall myriads bless the name of the first Hindoo Reformer, the Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY.

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APPENDIX.

(A)

LIST OF THE WORKS OF THE RAJAH RAMMOHUN ROY, WHICH HAVE BEEN PUBLISHED IN ENGLAND.

(*From the Notes to Mr. Fox's Sermon.*)

1. The Precepts of Jesus the Guide to Peace and Happiness, extracted from the Books of the New Testament ascribed to the Four Evangelists to which are added the First and Second Appeal to the Christian Public, in reply to the Observations of Dr. MARSHMAN, of Serampore. London, 1823.

2. Final Appeal to the Christian Public in Defence of the "Precepts of Jesus." London, Hunter, 1823.

3. Translation of several principal Books, Passages, and Texts of the Veds, and of some Controversial Works in Brahminical Theology. London, Parbury, 1832,

This Collection contains the following Tracts, to the titles of which are affixed the dates of their (English) publication at Calcutta :—

Translation of an Abridgment of the Vedant, or Resolution of all the Veds ; the most celebrated and revered Work of Brahminical Theology ; establishing the Unity of the Supreme Being, and that He alone is the Object of Propitiation and Worship. 1816.

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Translation of the Moonduk-Oopunishud of the Uthurvu Ved. 1819.

Translation of the Céna Upanished, one of the Chapters of the Sáma Véda. 1824.

Translation of the Kut'h-Oopunishud of the Ujoor-Ved.

Translation of the Ishopunishud, one of the Chapters of the Yajur Veda. 1816.

A Translation into English of a Sungskrit Tract, inculcating the Divine Worship; esteemed by those who believe in the Revelation of the Veds, as most appropriate to the Nature of the Supreme Being. 1827.

A Defence of Hindoo Theism, in reply to the Attack of an Advocate for Idolatry, at Madras. 1827.

A Second Defence of the monotheistical System of the Véds; in reply to an Apology for present State of Hindoo Worship, 1817.

An Apology for the Pursuit of Final Beatitude, independently of Brahminical Observances. 1820.

Translation of a Conference between an Advocate for, and an Opponent of the practice of burning Widows alive; from the original Bungla, 1818.

A Second Conference between an Advocate for, and an Opponent of, the practice of burning Widows alive. 1820.

Abstract of the Arguments regarding the Burning of Widows, considered as a Religious Rite. 1830.

Brief Remarks regarding Modern Encroachments on the Ancient Rights of Females, according to the Hindoo Law of Inheritance. 1822.

4. Essay on the Right of Hindoos over Ancestral Property according to the Law of Bengal. With an Appendix containing Letters on the Hindoo Law of Inheritance. Calcutta, 1830. London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1832.

5. Exposition of the Practical Operation of the Judicial

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and Revenue Systems in India, and of the general Character and Condition of its Native Inhabitants, as submitted in Evidence to the Authorities in England. With Notes and Illustrations, Also, a brief Preliminary Sketch of the Ancient and Modern Boundaries, and of the History of that country. London: Smith. 1832.

6. Answers to Queries by the Rev. H. WARE, of Cambridge, U, S., printed in "Correspondence relative to the Prospects of Christianity, and the Means of promoting its Reception in India" London: C. Fox. 1825.

7. Translation of the Creed maintained by the Ancient Brahmins, as founded on the Sacred Authorities. Second Edition, reprinted from the Calcutta Edition. London: Nichols and Son, 1833; pp. 15.

He was also the author of an able Memorial to the Privy Council on behalf of the Native Press of India; of a Bengalee Grammar in the English language; and, probably, of various publications not known in this country. His early work, which was written in Persian, with a preface in Arabic, "Against the Idolatry of all Religions," has not, so far as is known to the writer of this note, appeared in the English language. Besides some portion of a Life of Mahomet, already referred to, mention is made by Mr. ARNOTT, in the "Athenæum," of supposed works in favour of monotheism, and also that "he prepared, while in England, various able Papers or Essays on the working of the Supreme Court of of Calcutta, against the Salt Monopoly in India, &c., which have not been published." If his "Journal" have been regularly and fully kept, its appearance must excite a strong interest.

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(B)
RAJAH RAM ROY.

The following account of this youth was received by Dr. CARPENTER in a letter from India in 1835:—You ask me to give you any corrections (of Dr. C's Sermon and Review) that may appear necessary. One has been suggested to me by his native friends, as desirable to be made for the sake of RAMMOHUN ROY's character. The boy RAJAH whom he took with him to England is not his son, not even an adopted son according to the Hindoo form of adoption; but a destitute orphan whom he was led by circumstances to protect and educate. I have a distinct recollection of the particular circumstance under which, he stated to me RAJAH came into his hands. And my recollection is confirmed by that of others. Mr. DICK, a civil servant of the Company, found the child helpless and forsaken at one of the fairs at Hurdwar, where from two to three hundred thousand people annually congregated. It is not known whether the parents were Hindoos or Mussulmans, nor whether the parents lost or forsook him; but Mr. DICK had him clothed and fed, and when he was under the necessity of leaving the country for the recovery of his health, he consulted with RAMMOHUN ROY how the child should be disposed of. I well recollect our late friend's benevolent exclamation: "When I saw an Englishman, a Christian, thus caring for the welfare of a poor orphan, could I, a native, hesitate to take him under my care, and provide for him?" Mr. DICK never returned to India, having died, I believe, on the passage to England, and the child remained with RAMMOHUN ROY, who became so fond of him, that I often thought, and sometimes said, that he injured him by excessive indulgence. RAJAH RAM ROY returned to India, and has since died.

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(C)

Two letters occur in the "Memoirs of JEREMY BENTHAM, by Sir JOHN BOWRING, chap. XXIII., P. 7, and chap. XXV p. 59, in reference to 'RAMMOHUN ROY, containing Sir JOHN'S estimate of his character.

(D)

The following communication from an English Officer who had attained the age of eighty-four, shows how deep was the respect and admiration felt for RAMMOHUN ROY :—

"MOUNT AUBURN, CINCINNATI, U. S. *4th June*, 1866. "To Miss MARY CARPENTER, Bristol, England.

"DEAR MADAM,—In the event of the address of this letter being sufficiently correct for it to reach you safely, it will doubtless much surprise you to receive such a communication from an utter stranger in so distant a land. The shortest way, therefore, of explaining matters, will be to proceed at once to state that I am a veteran British Officer and an old and intimate friend of the late estimable Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY; and that having lately accidentally observed in an American journal a notice, stating that Miss MARY CARPENTER has in preparation 'The Last Days of Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY, with a portrait and Illustrations, I could not help feeling irresistibly inclined to confer with the fair biographer, and to state that, if still in time, I might happily be able to contribute a few acceptable items towards so desirable an object, having known the Rajah well in India and had the pleasure of frequent visits from and correspondence with him, particularly while my Regiment (the 17th) was quartered in Fort William, at Calcutta; and having afterwards had the great satisfaction of meeting him in London, before he went into Somersetshire and was even led to hope that he would pay me a friendly visit in Devonshire, to which pleasant county I had then retired,

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and (as I thought settled down, with a rising family, for the remainder of my life. But, alas, though 'man may propose, it is God alone who disposes'—for we never met again; and not long after the Rajah's lamented death, I was from pecuniary reverses led, in 1836, to emigrate to Canada, in which colony, I continued to reside for twenty years, when I was reluctantly induced to bid adieu to British soil, and take up my abode in this city to be near a beloved married daughter—now no more—and where I have resided ever since.

"Having taken a rapid retrospective glance through an eventful vista of more than forty years, I now return to the particular object in view, by mentioning as above observed, that I had the pleasure of knowing RAMMOHUN rather intimately in India, and that not only was I one of the particular friends invited to the great dinner given by him in honour of the supposed Revolution in Spain; but he was even my guest at the Regimental mess table, in the Garrison of Fort William,—a very unusual thing in those days for a native gentleman, and more particularly a Brahmin; and further that after my return to Europe, happening to visit Paris, I had the pleasure of being deputed by the *Societé Asiatique*, to forward to RAMMOHUN a Diploma of honorary membership of that learned and scientific body, long before such honorable notice had begun to be taken of him either in India or England; and this Diploma was delivered to him by a mutual friend, whom I begged to inform me what effect this then unusal compliment appeared to produce on RAMMOHUN'S feelings,—and whose reply I still possess. I am also desirous of calling your attention to a particular circumstance connected with the defence of the fair fame and name of our deceased friend, in my having, shortly after his death been so incensed by some uncalled for sneers at his memory by a flippant Editor of the London *Times*, as to

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have, in November 1832, induced me to insert an indignant communication on the subject in the *Naval and Military Gazette*, then edited by Mr. Montgomery Martin (also an intimate personal friend of the deceased) which, I became aware, cut to the quick.

"I could readily refer to other reminiscences; but I deem the above sufficient at present; and shall therefore be content to add that should this communication be thought worthy of an acknowledgment, letters addressd simply to Colonel LACHLAN, Cincinnati, Ohio, U. S. will be sure to find me; and that I beg to be permitted to remain in the meantime,

"Dear Madam,

"Yours most respectfully and sincerely,

"R. LAGHLAN."

(E)

REMINISCENCES OF RAJAH RAMMOHUN ROY.

WRITTEN BY A HINDOO GENTLEMAN.

"My father and Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY were friends. The friendship arose from the circumstance of their mofussil residence being in the same part of the district of Hooghly. My father was an orthodox Brahmin, but this did not interrupt his friendship with the old Rajah when his heterodoxy came to light, for, though of the class, my father was liberal and had a great respect for the Rajah. So great was his attachment to his noble friend that he well nigh suffered excommunication for it, when the abolition of suttee brought upon the Rajah, as the author of this outrage, that social misfortune.

"I was introduced to the Rajah at a very early age by my father, and the friendship of the fathers soon led to the establishment of a friendship between the sons. The Rajah's youngest son, the late ROMA PERSHAD ROY, and I being nearly of the same age, and being consequently thrown into each other's society, we soon began to find a pleasure in

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being together, and our intimacy grew up with our years. We lived like brothers, and the friendly relations between our families were gradually firmly cemented.

"Not long after I had been established in the family of the Rajah, the Rev. Dr. DUFF whose memory I cannot recall without a thrill of gratitude passing through my frame, came to India and formed a project in concert with the Rajah of establishing a school for giving English education to native children. At that time, missionaries and missionary institutions were regarded by natives with great mistrust, and the Doctor and the Rajah with great difficulty could obtain but five pupils for their projected new school. I was one of these five, and I am now the only survivor out of this lot. The good Doctor has mentioned this fact with great complacency in many of his recent discourses both here and in Edinburgh.

"My friend, ROMA PERSHAD, and I formed, as far back as 1860, a scheme of giving instruction to the females of respectable Hindoo families. The system of Zenana teaching which then came into existence was to our minds not suited to this end and we arranged for instructing our females in some respectable school, to be established in the heart of the native town, presided over and managed by some respectable mistress, respectable not only in attainments but also in social position. We broached our scheme to Dr. DUFF, who approved of it fully, and engaged the services of a clergyman's wife for this purpose in England. But before we could carry our scheme into operation, I was deputed by Government to Lahore on public duty, and during my absence there my friend was gathered to his fathers, and our cherished scheme fell to the ground.

"The untimely death of my lamented friend rendered abortive several other schemes that we fondly cherished. Among other things we had an idea of going to England

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together, there to visit the place where his illustrious father sojourned and breathed his last, and ultimately to erect a marble statue on the spot to preserve his memory; but the hand of death anticipated us, and the regret is that we fell short of our duty to the illustrious deceased, not that his memory will be lost, for it requires no artificial monument to preserve it, and even if it does there is a more substantial monument which will last so long as the English literature endureth, "K. M. CHATTERJEE.

"Calcutta, 22nd Dec., 1866"

(F)

THE RAJAH'S TOMB IN ARNO'S VALE CEMETERY.

In 1872 the tomb was put into beautiful repair at the expense of the executors of the Rajah, and the following inscripton has been carved on it at their desire :—

Beneath this stone
rest the remains of Rajá Rammohun Roy Bahadoor,
a conscientious and steadfast believer in the Unity of the Godhead
he consecrated his life with entire devotion
to the worship of the DIVINE SPIRIT alone.

To great natural talents he united thorough mastery of many languages, and early distinguished himself as one of the greatest scholars of his day.

His unwearied labours to promote the social, moral and physical condition of the people of India, his earnest endeavours to suppress idolatry and the rite of Suttee, and his constant zealous advocacy of whatever tended to advance the glory of God and the welfare of man live in the grateful remembrance of his countrymen.

This tablet records the sorrow and pride with which his memory is cherished by his descendants.

He was born at Radhanagore, in Bengal, in 1774. and died at Bristol, September 27th, 1833.

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(G)

ARNO'S VALE CEMETERY.

THE HOMAGE BY INDIAN VISITORS.

THE LAST RESTING PLACE OF THE MORTAL REMAINS OF RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY.

A young friend who was studying in England in 1898 sent the following intersting account of his pilgrimage to the Sacred Remains of the RAJAH RAMMOHUN ROY at Bristol. We present our readers with the contents of the 'Visitor's Book' kept at the Cemetery as taken down on the 11th of September, 1898.

"The book begins by saying how at the wish of the grandson of the Raja, Mr. Kishori Mohan Chattopadhyay (late Judge. S. C. Court, Calcutta), this book was begun on the 8th October, 1869. This is in the handwriting of Miss Mary Carpenter, who puts in a note in one of the pages that "the spot where he was first laid is marked by some pieces of granite") i.e., in Stapleton Grove".

Then follow names of gentlemen who had visited the grove before the book was started. The names are :—Jagat Chandra Ganguly, (a Christian) 1860 ; Rakhal Das Haldar, 1861 ; Satyendra Nath Tagore and Manomohun Ghosh, Calcutta 1863 ; Ram Chandra Balkrishna (Bombay) 1865 ; Karan Das Mulji, (Bombay) 1867 ; Womesh Chandra Banerjee ; Khetra Mohun Dutt, (Medical Practitioner), and Monomohun Ghosh, December, 1864.

Then follow names and remarks written by visitors themselves. Kishori Mohun Chattopadhyay, October 2nd, 1869 ; Surendra Nath Banerjee (same date) ;

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Then the following :—

"Keshub Chunder Sen, left Calcutta on Tuesday, February 15th, arrived in London on Monday, March 21st, and visited RAJAH RAMMOHUN ROY'S Tomb at Arno's Vale Cemetery on Sunday, June 12th, 1870. "May the Lord bless his soul."

Rakhal Chandra Roy (same date) May God have mercy on his soul."

"Prosonno Coomar Sen, 15th June, 1870. "May the Lord bless his soul."

Then follow :—

"Kazi Shahabuddin and G. A. Daphtary, 23rd, July 1870.

"Anandamohan Bose, of Bengal, visited the Tomb which makes the Cemetry an object of deep and solemn interest to an Indian heart, on the 10th September, 1870. "May those who come here carry back with them some of that spirit which animated the Rajah, and made him a Morning Star of Reform in his native land."

Krishna Gopal Deshmukh, 12th April, 1871; Sasipada Banerjea, 7th July, 1871; Dr. Gopal Chandra Roy, 7th July 1871; Radhika Prosad Ghosh, 22nd June 1872; Dr. Charles Stras Burges of Warsaw (Poland), 16th July 1872; Dr. Guillamma Neuchatel (Switzerland) 16th July, 1872; Krishna Gopal Deshmukh, 26th January, 1873. C. Menacshaya of Madras, and C. Sobha Patti Iyalis, 21st Sept 1873; Miss Harriet Ware of Boston, November 19th 1873; Nanaji Narayan of Bombay 11th July 1874.

"Protap Chunder Mozoomdar of Calcutta, a missionary of the Brahmo Somaj of India; the church for the worship of one God, which the Rajah founded in the year 1831, and which makes his name immortal in the ancient land of his

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birth, visited this cemetery on the 19th July 1874. "England for ever will remain a land of pilgrimage to every patriotic and pious Hindu, so long as the Sacred Remains of our beloved Rajah lie enshrined in her free soil, and if, in the course of time, all other relations that bind India and the land of her rulers come to be loosened and ineffective, this shall for ever unite the two countries which represent the East and the West, that the last days—the noblest days of RAJAH RAMMOHUN ROY—were spent, and the last efforts of his great soul were made in England, after he had successfully established in his fatherland the institution which proposes itself the object of introducing into the world the Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man. May others be inspird as I have been by the sight of the Rajah's grave."e

Pakula Venkata Krishnan Naidu (Madras), August 2nd, 1874; Palicat Ratnu Melu Chetty (same date); Avinash Chandra Mitra, December 18th 1874; Kavarji Mervunji Shroff, January 7th, 1875; Srinath Dutt, July 18th 1875. J. N. Sircar, B. D. Bose and W. M. Das, 18th August 1876; Mr and Mrs Turkeed (of Bombay), August 26th 1876, Satya Prokash Banerji, June 30th 1877; Rev. William Thomas Satthianadham (Chaplain to the Bishop of Madras) with Lord Bishop Anderson, June 21st 1878; Rama Bai Medhabi, May 9th 1885—with four lines in Marhatti, which translate thus:—

"Looking at the Samadhi of our great friend, who strove for our good, I felt both joy and sorrow; but I am happy, for the soul of the RAJAH RAMMOHUN ROY exists in the Infinite bliss of God".

K. B. Todhabu Baneryea, June 3rd 1886; Nitya Gopal Mukherjea (same date); T. N.

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Mukherji, September 8th, 1886. Sivanath Sastri; Satis Ranjan Das; Durga Mohun Das; May 19th, 1888,

"Sivanath Sastri, September 27th 1888. "To day is the Anniversary of the death of RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY. I paid a second visit to his tomb this day. I thank God that we have succeeded in repairing his tomb during the interval and after our arrival in this country. The grandsons of the Rajah have promised to bear the cost of the repairs, which is £ 30 of English money, and I hope they will do so. If not, the Brahmos of Bengal will willingly bear it. I prayed this day by the side of the tomb, that this noble example may inspire us to follow in the same path."

"Rukma Bai (Bombay). July 10th 1890, with three or four lines in Mahratti, which translate :—May the soul of the noble RAJAH RAMMOHUN ROY, who devoted his life for the welfare of Indian women, be in peace".

Chandra Sekhar Sen, August 8th 1890; Tej Narain Singh (of Bhagalpur) and Syed Humayun Mirza, of Patna May 17th 1892; Albion R. K. Banerji, September 6th 1893; Bemal Chandra Ghosh and myself on Septemder 11th 1898.

After more than five years of no visitors we had gone to ask for the book; well might old Mr Henry I. Fentham (the Record-Keeper) remark that for a long time no one had used it. We took down some of the remarks that day, and returned three or four days later with a few other friends, once more to pay our tribute of respect to that great man. May our pilgrimage bless us with its grace.

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(H)

A SHORT BIOGRAPHY OF THE LATE MISS MARY CARPENTER.

BY

Mr. D. N. PAL.

The 3rd April 1807, the birthday of MARY CARPENTER—was indeed a remarkable day. Her Life was of a farreaching usefulness. Her philanthropic labours are well known, and must be known to all readers of social reform movements. The events of her career are depicted in her books, her papers, and her Institutions such as the Ragged School and the Reformatory and Industrial Schools. These last were certainly the readiest means of ameliorating the condition of the outcast and the destitute whose wretched habit and despicable characrter shocked the heart of the philanthropic lady. She brought her powerful intellect to bear upon the unformed minds with which she daily came in contact. She possessed wonderful qualities of both head and heart,—qualities very rarely found in harmonious combination in the same individual. She had the insight into affairs and the grasp of detail of a born administrator. Under her vigillant and affectionate care, hundreds of souls have been rescued from the hanuts of poverty and crime. One cannot too much admire the remarkble sagacity and uncommon sympathy, displayed by her in dealing with the problem of ragged delinquency. Along with the foundation of the National Indian Association, the late MARY CARPENTER started a monthly, under the name of the *Journal of The National Indian Association*, as a medium

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for supplying information on social matters and solution of important social questions. Until her death, she was the Editor of this Journal.

The influence of RAJAH RAMMOHUN ROY awakened her interest in the Indian people which soon developed itself into warm sympathy. Subsequently her conversation with the Rajah who visited her, resulted in the conviction that there was a vast field of philanthropic enterprise awaiting any one who would go to India without prejudice ; and she determined to enter upon it at once. She sailed for India in her sixtieth year, with a weak constitution and with no relative or friend accompanying her. Her only desire was to work in this country, under the stimulus which she received from the the RAJAH. During her sojourn, female education, reformatory schools, and the state of the jails engrossed all her attention. She was surprised to see that the classes in the girl's schools were conducted by male teachers. She felt this as a serious obstacle in the cause of female education. She did much to create public opinion in regard to the urgent need of gradually introducing trained female teachers into the schools. When the want of trained female teachers was universally felt in India she sought the co-operation of Government in this matter. At her request, Government took the initiative in founding schools for the training of female teachers. In the Presidency Towns, Female Normal Schools came to be thus established. But in Calcutta the School was abolished after nearly a year's trial for want of adequate support.

The efforts of Mary Carpenter in Calcutta awakened an enthusiasm for social refrom. The Bengal Social Science Association was formally inaugurated. A constitution for the Society was

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drawn up. However, when she turned her back upon India, the Association died a premature death. The Bengal Branch of the National Indian Association was established in 1876. Babu Sasipada Banerji had some hand in it and framed rules for the society. The Branch Association was opened on the 11th April, under the presidency of Sir Richard Temple. Mrs. Sale and Mrs. P. L. Roy were Joint Secretaries.

Mr. Sasipada Benerji of the DEVALAYA with his wife accampanied Miss CARPENTER to England and spent about 9 months in her house near Bristol and it was here that his son Mr. ALBION BANERJI, M. A., I. C. S., (Dewan of Cochin) was born. Miss CARPENTER visited India 4 times on her educational and philanthropic mission. During her last trip to India she was much pleased to see the marked improvements effected in the condition of the women of this country. During this time she also visited the various important places of India and submitted an exhaustive report to Lord Salsbury, the then Prime Minister of England, on female education and the condition of the prisoners in the Indian Jails as a result of which this question was actively taken up by the Parliament and the Government of India passed an Act in 1876 for the Establishment of Reformatory Schools. The remarkable improvements in the condition of the Indian prisoners which we now notice in the Jails are due to a large extent to the indefatigable labours of Miss CARPENTER.

Mary CARPENTER died at Bristol on the 15th June 1877, at the age of 70. Her death was a sudden one. Four months after this lamentable event, a public meeting was held in the Guild Hall at Bristol at which it was resolved to perpetuate the memory of the late Miss Mary CARPENTER by the promo-

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tion of some philanthropic works in which she took particular interest. An Association was formed for the establishment and support of houses bearing her name for working boys, and working women and girls. The "MARY CARPENTER HALL" attached to the Brahmo Girls School in Circular Road and close to the Rammohun Memorial Hall and Library is another of her Memorials in Calcutta. Great credit is due to the members of the Brahmo Somaj for erecting this Memorial and associating her name with a cause with which she was so intimately connected during her life time.

At the invitation of the Dean who was her friend, a monument was placed in the wall of the Bristol Cathedral and we think we cannot do better than give a verbatim copy of what is inscribed on that tablet which was composed by the late Revd. Dr. Martineau,—

"SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF MARY CARPENTER,

Foremost among the founders of Reformatory and Industrial Schools in this city and realm.

Neither the claims of private duty nor the tastes of a cultured mind could withdraw her compassionate eye from the uncared for children of the streets.

Loving them while yet unlovely,
she so formed them to the fair and good
as to inspire others with her faith and hope,
and thus led the way to a National system
of moral rescue and preventive discipline.

Taking also to heart the grevious lot of oriental women, in the last decade of her life, she four times went to India,

and awakened an active interest
in their education and training for various duties.

No human ill escaped her pity, or cast down her trust, with true self secrifice she followed

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in the train of Christ, to seek and to save that which was lost and bring it home to the father-in-heaven.

Desiring to extend her work of piety and love many who honoured her have instituted in her name, some homes for the houseless young, and now complete their tribute of affection by erecting this memorial."

Born at Exeter— April 3rd. 1807.
Died at Bristol—June 15th. 1877.

APPENDIX I.

RAMMOHUN ROY.*

The Last Days in England of the Rajah Rammohun Roy. Edited by Mary Carpenter of Bristol., London, Trübner & Co., Paternoster Row. 1866.

THE appearance of this work is very opportune. At a time when the Brahmo Somaj is rent by schism, and its conservative and progessive elements are struggling for mastery, the question as to what were the real religious opinions of its founder, has acquired a new interest, and demands a satisfactory solution.*

The most interesting portion of the work under review is that which furnishes us with materials for discussing that question, albeit the authoress herself does not grasp it with that perspicuity and impartiality which one in her position might be expected to bear on it. We shall not, therefore,

* This criticism appeared in the Calcutta Review, 1866.

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hesitate to make such use of them as may be necessary for our purpose. Although not an original or independent work, yet as a compilation of various documents, letters, and accounts, her work is valuable, and will prove a great help to the future biographer of Rammohun Roy.

The first chapter of Miss Carpenter's work gives a biographical sketch of Rammohun Roy, but it is destitute of anecdotal and personal interest. It relates very little of his antecedents, and gives but an imperfect picture of his early career. In No. VIII, Vol. IV. of the *Calcutta Review*, the writer of this paper endeavoured to give an account of the parentage, education, and labours of the great Hindu, and he does not, therefore, think it necessary to reproduce it here. We have perhaps no right to find fault with the authoress for skipping over the early part of his career, inasmuch as the task she proposed to herself, namely, to describe the last days of the Hindu Reformer, has been very fairly performed. Indeed, the performance does credit both to her head and heart, and entitles her to the gratitude of all—and their number is legion—to whom the subject is congenial. The last days of Rammohun Roy, embracing as they do, his short but eventful career in Europe and evolution of his religious and political proclivities,are indeed fraught with an abiding interest to the natives of India, not less than to those Englishmen who profess something more than a mere personal interest in the progress and welfare of Hindustan.

Rammohun Roy was in the land of his birth, as Miss Carpenter justly observes, a man greatly before his age, and a light shining in thick and impenetrable darkness. Endowed with a bold spirit and a penetrating genius he could not long have remained among the myriad millions who

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live and die in nominal belief but whose religion is really regulated by the geography of their country or the prejudices of their nursery. Hence, while he was appreciated only by the little band of followers, whom he had enlisted in the cause of religious reform, he was denounced and persecuted by the mass of his countrymen. Born and bred in a country immersed in the darkness of superstition, he, by a proper use of his cultivated understanding, discovered the falsity of Hinduism, publicly renounced it, embraced theism, and thereby subjected himself to those terrors of excommunication, of which we can have a faint idea in this age of comparative enlightenment. He was a *melacha* and a *nastic* —an infidel and an arch-preacher of infidelity and as such to be cast aside with one general mark of reprobation. Persecuted at home, he turned to England for encouragement, sympathy, and help, for Englishmen had evinced a keen appreciation of his unselfish devotion to the highest interest of his countrymen. He longed to see the country to whose keeping the destinies of his own had been entrusted,—the country, where philosophy, liberty, and science had achieved their proudest triumphs,—the country of the Lockes, of the Bacons, of the Newtons, of the Hampdons, and of the Watts. By this visit to England he proposed to attain two objects,—first, to obtain, as he says in one of his letters, "by personal observa-" tion a more thorough insight into its manners " customs, religion, and political institutions; and, secondly, to seek for help in his efforts to regenerate his fatherland. Without further preface we will now follow Miss Carpenter in her account of the pilgrimage to England of this adventurous enquirer after truth.

"The arrival of the illustrious Hindu Reformer

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"to our country was anxiously anticipated by "all who had become acquainted with him through "the various channels which have been laid before "the reader. The nature of his labours, and the "distance of the scene of them, naturally prevented "his being an object of popular enthusiasm ;—nor, "if that had been excited in his favour, would he "have desired the public demonstrations of admira-"tion and respect which were recently accorded "to the great Italian patriot. But the reception "given to him, though of a widely different kind "must have been no less gratifying to him at the "time, and to his countrymen since his departure. "The highest honours were publicly accorded to "him, and a place was awarded to him among the "foreign ambassadors at the coronation of the "sovereign ; persons the most remarkable for their "social standing and literary eminence sought "his society, and highly esteemed the privilege "of intercourse with him ;—he was received into "our English homes not only as a distinguished "guest, but as a friend ;—and when he was pros-"trated on the bed of sickness and of death in "a foreign land, he was surrounded with the most "loving attentions, tended with the most anxious "solicitude, and finally laid in the grave surround-"ed with true mourners, who felt him akin to "them in spirit, if not connected with him by the "ties of earthly relationship."

The *Albion* in which he sailed arrived at her destination on the 8th April, 1831. The Rajah landed the same day at Liverpool, and took up his lodging at one of the hotels there. His arrival in England, where his fame had preceded him, excited a considerable degree of interest. It occurred too, at a period of extraordinary fermentation. The whole nation had been wrought

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up into a state of overpowering excitement. Reform was then, as it is now, the one great subject which agitated the whole country. Rammohun Roy became a zealous and enthusiastic advocate of "the Bill." He saw at once the good which this great national measure was calculated, in his opinion, to accomplish. He was convinced that it was calculated to "promote the welfare of England "and her dependencies —nay, of the whole world." It was under the hospitable roof of Mr. William Rathbone that he met the venerable Mr. Roscoe his first interview with whom is thus related :—"After the usual gesture of eastern salutation, and with a "mixture of oriental expression, Rammohun "Roy said, 'Happy and proud am I—proud "'and happy to behold a man whose fame "'has extended not only over Europe, but "'over every part of the world.' 'I bless "'God,' replied Mr. Roscoe, 'that I have been "'permitted to live to see this day.'" Their "'conversation chiefly turned upon the objects which had led Rammohun Roy to England and in the course of it he displayed an intimate acquaintance with the political and commercial state of that country.

The visit of the Rajah to Liverpool was a very short one from his anxiety to be present at the third reading of the Reform Bill, and at the debates on the subject of India. On his departure for London he carried with him the following letter from Mr. Roscoe to Lord Brougham :—

"I have the great honour and very singular "pleasure of introducing to your Lordship's kind "notice and attention the bearer of this, the "celebrated and learned Rammohun Roy, who is

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" just arrived here from Calcutta, and of whom
" you must already have frequently heard as the
" illustrious convert from Hindooism to Christian-
" ity, and the author of the 'Selections from the
" New Testament' and of 'The Precepts of Jesus'
" by the publication and diffusion of which amongst
" the natives of the East reasonable hopes are now
" entertained, that, in a short time, the shocking
" system and cruel practices of Paganism will be
" abolished, and the people of those populous
" regions be restored to the pure and simple
" precepts of morality and brotherly love. Amongst
" the many and important motives which have
" induced him to leave his country and connections,
" and visit this Island, I understand he is induced
" to hope he may be of some assistance in promoting
" the cause of the natives of India in the great
" debates which must ere long take place here,
" respecting the charter of the East India
" Company; but I have yet seen so little of him,
" from his numerous engagements here, that
" I must leave your Lordship to learn his inten-
" tions from himself, which you will find him
" very capable of explaining in his own strong
" and appropriate English idiom. One great
" reason, as I understand, for his haste to leave
" this for London, is to be present to witness the
" great measures that will be taken by your Lord-
" ship and your illustrious colleagues for promo-
" ting the long wished for reform of his native coun-
" try. On the present occasion, I will not trouble you
" further than to request, that, if it should not be
" inconsistent with your Lordship's station and
" convenience, you would obtain for our distinguish-
" ed visitor the benefit of a seat under the gallery
" in the House of Commons, on the debate on
" the third reading of the Reform Bill; which

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"favour I am anxious he should owe rather to "your Lordship (if you have no objection to it) "than to other idividuals, to whom, I understand, "he has letters of introduction."

The purity and loftiness of his religious ideas and his freedom from sectarianism endeared Rammohun Roy to a large section of Christians in England, who eagerly sought to do him honour. He was warmly welcomed by them as a fellow-labourer and received by them with every mark of deep and heartfelt respect. Soon after his arrival in London, he attended a meeting of the Unitarian Society, convened to give him a welcome. On his appearance on the platform, he was introduced as the "Apostle of the East," and was thus cordially greeted by the Reverend Robert Aspland, who presided on the occasion. "Our illustrious friend (for "such I trust he will allow me to call him) will "permit me to state that his presence creates among "us a sensation which he perhaps will hardly under-"stand. It does so, because in his person and "example we see an instance of the power of the "human mind in recovering itself from the errors "of ages ; and because so we conceive that we "see in him, with his intelligence and character, "one of the best and most disinterested of the "claims of Unitarianism to be the original Christian "doctrine."

Dr. Bowring (now Sir John Bowring) in moving the resolution tendering a cordial welcome to the Hindu Reformer made the following pertinent remarks :—

"I feel it is a very signal honour to have entrus-"ed to my care a resolution, the object of which "is to welcome our illustrious oriental friend, and "to communicate all we feel and hope towards "him. I ought not to say all we feel and hope,

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" for I am sure that it is impossible to give ex-
" pression to those sentiments of interest and
" anticipation with which his advent here is as-
" sociated in all our minds. I recollect some
" writers have indulged themselves with inquiring
" what they should feel if any of those time-
" honoured men whose names have lived through
" the vicissitudes of ages, should appear among
" them. They have endeavoured to imagine what
" would be their sensations if a Plato or a Socrates,
" a Milton or a Newton, were unexpectedly to
" honour them with their presence. I recollect
" that a poet, who has well been called divine,
" has drawn a beautiful picture of the feelings of
" those who first visited the Southern Hemisphere,
" and there saw, for the first time, that beautiful
" constellation, the Golden Cross. It was with
" feelings, such as they underwent, that I was
" overwhelmed when I stretched out in your name
" the hand of welcome to the Rajah Rammohun
" Roy. In my mind the effect of distance is very
" like the effect of time, and he who comes among
" us from a country thousands of miles off, must
" be looked upon with the same interest as those
" illustrious men who lived thousands of years ago.
" But in the case of our friend, his coming may be
" deemed an act of heroism of which the European
" cannot form a just estimate. When Peter the
" Great went forth to instruct himself in the
" civilization of the South,—when he left the
" barbarous honours of his own court to perfect
" himself in ship-building at Sardam,he presented
" himself to public eye in a more illustrious
" manner than after any of his most glorious
" victories. But Peter had to overcome no pre-
" judices, he had to break down no embarrass-
" ments, for he knew that he had left those who

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"were behind him with an enthusiasm equal to "his own, and he knew that he would be received "by them, when he should return, with the same "display of enthusiasm. Our illustrious friend, "however, has made a more severe experiment: "he has ventured to accomplish that which "perhaps none other connected, as he is, with "the highest honours of the Brahminical race "ever attempted: he has ventured to do that "which would have been regarded with incredulity "ten years ago and which hereafter will crown "his name with the highest honour.

"Sir, I move with great pleasure, 'That the "'members of this Asscciation feel a deep interest "'in the amelioration of the condition of the "'natives of British India; that we trust their "'welfare and imporvement will never be lost "'sight of by the Legislature and Government "'of our country; that we have special pleasure "'in the hope that juster notions and purer forms "'of religion are gradually advancing amongst "'them; and that our illustrious visitor from "'that distant region, the Rajah Rammohun Roy, "'be hereby certified of our sympathy in his "'arduous and philanthrophic labours, of our "'admiration of his character, of our delight at "'his presence amongst us, and of our conviction "'that the magnanimous and beneficent course "'which he has marked out for himself and "'hitherto consistently pursued, will entitle him "'to the blessings of his countrymen and of man-"'kind, as it will assuredly receive those of future "'generations.'"

Dr. Kirkland, late President of Harvard University, United States, seconded the resolution. In adopting it, the assembly rose in unanimous approbation of its object.

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Rammohun Roy acknowledged the compliment in the following memorable terms :—"I am too unwell and too much exhausted to take any active "part in this meeting; but I am much indebted "to Dr. Kirkland and to Dr. Bowring for the "honour they have conferred on me by calling me "their fellow-labourer, and to you for admitting "me to this Society as a brother and one of your "fellow-labourers. I am not sensible that I have "done anything to deserve being called a promoter "of this cause; but with respect to your faith "I may observe, that I too believe in the one "God, and that I believe in almost all the doc-"trines that you do: but I do this for my own "salvation and for my own peace. For the "objects of your Society I must confess that "I have done very little to entitle me to your "gratitude or such admiration of my conduct. "What have I done?—I do not know what "have I done!—If I have rendered you any "services they must be very trifling—very trifling "I am sure, I laboured under many disadvantages. "In the first instance, the Hindus and the Brah-"mins, to whom I am related, are all hostile to "the cause; and even many Christians there "are more hostile to our common cause than the "Hindus and the Brahmins. I have honour for "the appellation of Christians; but they always "tried to throw dificulties and obstacles in the "way of the Principles of Unitarian Christianity. I "have found some of these here; but more there. "They abhor the notion of simple precepts. They "always lay a stress on mystery and mystical "points, which serve to delude their followers; "and the consequence is, that we meet with such "opposition in India that our progress is very "slight; and I feel ashamed on my side that I

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"have not made any progress, that might have "placed me on a footing with my fellow-labourers "in this part of the globe. However, if this is "the true system of Christianity, it will prevail, "notwithstanding all the opposition that may be "made to it. Scripture seconds your system of "religion, common sense is always on your side; "while power and prejudice are on the side of your "opponents. There is a battle going on between "reason, Scripture, and common sense; and "wealth, power, and prejudice. These three "have been struggling with the other three, but I "am convinced that your success, sooner or later "is certain. I feel overexhausted, and therefore "conclude with an expression of my heart-felt "thanks for the honour that, from time to time you "have conferred on me, and which I shall never "forget to the last moment of my existence."

The religious sympathy evinced towards Rammohun Roy by the Unitarians of England must have been refreshing to his spirit, and compensated in no inconsidarable degree for the persecutions to which he had been subjected in India. "While in London," says "Dr. Carpenter, "he repeatedly attended the "worship of the Unitarians, at their different "chapels in or near the metropolis, and he twice "attended their anniversary meetings: but it was "his system to avoid so far identifying himself "with any religious body, as to make himself "answerable for their acts and opinions; and he "also wished to hear preachers of other denomina-"tions who had acquired a just celebrity. He "appears to have most frequented the church of "the Rev. Dr. Kenny (St. Olave's Southwark), "who peculiarly interested him by the Christian "spirit and influence of his discourses.

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While in London, Rammohun Roy had the satisfaction of seeing the appeal of the *Dharma-sabha* against Lord William Bentinck's edict for the abolition of *Suttee* rejected by the Privy Council, and the Charter Act for India passed by the Parliament. As a patriot and a politician he rejoiced in these measures, for he was both in the truest sense of those words and needed but a larger stage to rank in sober reality with the foremost statesmen of the age.

It was however as a philosopher and a reformer that he was sought after and prized by intellectual and thoughtful men in England. The following interesting anecdotes illustrate his views on philosophical and religious subjects. The first is from the pen of Mr. Recorder Hill :—"I only met "the Rajah Rammohun Roy once in my life. It was " at a dinner party given by Dr. Arnott. One of " the guests was Robert Owen, who evinced a " strong desire to bring over the Rajah to his " socialistic opinions. He persevered with great " earnestness, but the Rajah who seemed well-" acquainted with the subject, and who spoke our " language in marvellous perfection, answered " his arguments with consummate skill, until " Robert somewhat lost his temper, a very rare " occurrence, which I never witnessed before. The " defeat of the kind-hearted philanthropist was " accomplished with great suavity on the part of " his opponent."

The next is from a lady acquaintance of theRajah :-

" At a small evening party at my house in " Grenville Street, principally to meet the Rajah, " he referred to the doctrine of Original Sin in a " way that startled a lady of the Church—a very " charming and amiable woman,—who had brought " her daughter. ' But surely, Sir,' she exclaimed,

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"you do believe in Original Sin?' He looked at "her and she blushed deeply. After a minute, he "seemed to comprehend the whole, and very "gently inclining he said, 'I believe it is a doctrine "which in many well-regulated minds has tended "to promote humility, the first of Christian "virtues; for my own part, I have never been "able to see the evidence of it."

In compliance with the reiterated invitation of "Miss Kiddell, Rammohun Roy went to Bristol "early in the month of September, 1833. He "put up at Stapleton Grove, the residence of Miss "Kiddell and her ward Miss Catherine Cassell. "He was accompanied by Miss Hare the niece, and "not, as Miss Carpenter supposes, the daughter of "David Hare, the father of native education in "Bengal; he was attended by his two Hindu ser-"vants, Ramrutton Mookerjee, afterwards Deputy Collector of Moorshedabad, and now residing at Maniktollah; and Ramhurry Doss, now Head Gardener of the Maharajah of Burdwan. The fame of the services rendered by the Hindu Reformer to the cause of Unitarian Christianity in India had preceded him in Bristol about eight years before his arrival there, when an appeal on behalf of that cause had been made to the congregation and had been responded to most liberally. It is, therefore, small wonder that his appearanace in Lewin's Mead Chapel was warmly welcomed. He visited also other places of worship, and while engaged in public devotion there he was wont to read some of Dr. Watts's hymns for children, and he frequently dwelt with great interest on the following verse:

"Lord! how delightful 'tis to see
"A whole assembly worship Thee:
"At once they sing, at once they pray;
"They hear of heaven and learn the way."

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On the eleventh September of 1833, a large party was invited by Miss Kiddell to meet Rammohun Roy at Stapleton Grove. The conversation was animated and protracted and elicited the Rajah's various talents, breadth of view, and grasp of mind, calling forth the admiring respect of the company. It is thus described by Dr, Carpenter: "In the conversation at Stapleton "Grove were men fully competent to judge of "intellectual power; and one and all admired and "were delighted by the clearness, the closeness, "and the acuteness of his arguments, and the "beautiful tone of his mind. In the second of "of the two conversations at which Mr. Lister "was present, the Rajah continued for three hours, "standing the whole time, replying to all the "inquiries and observations that were made by a "number of gentlemen who surrounded him, on "the moral and political state and prospects of "India, and on an elucidation at great length of "certain dogmas of the Indian philosophers."

Among the dogmas of Indian philosophers which formed the theme of conversation, was the doctrine of Absorption. There being a general desire among some of those who heard the Rajah to know more of the doctrine. Mr. Shepherd, the author of many valuable devotional works, addressed to him a letter, dated, Richmond Terrace, Clifton, Septmber 17th, 1833, in which he asked his correspondent to enlighten him and his friends of the real opinions of those philosophic Hindus who seek absorption as the chief good. He thus stated the object of his enquiry: "I conceive it may be briefly put thus:—Do they believe that "there may be consciousnesses, or a *plurality* of "consciousness (indivisibly) in the One Total "of Happy Being?—or—Do they believe that

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" there can be but *one* consciousness in that One " Total of Happy Being? Only the former of " these suppositions seems to require being " illustrated. If *that* be the tenet, it appears to " me to imply that the Absorbed, though no " longer properly an I or *human* person, may " still someway *soliloquize*; or rather think or " utter its undivided strain in the Divine *omniloquy*, " as thus—'That which was I, but is rejoicingly " not I, exists but also fully in-exists and has its " undivided being, or in-being in the Universal " Mind. It meditates with the whole, *is* of the " whole, is blest with and in the whole. The " interposed and dissoluble which parted the " unity and continuity of the Divine *Substance*, " is gloriously removed. The substance which " was I is now not *itself* (though it exists), for " it is continuous with the whole Divine Self. " It has to will, but a mode of the universal will, " no thought but a mode of the whole thought " of the 'I am'. If such be the tenet, however " inconcieveable or dimly conceiveable (by us at " least) such a sort or modification of conscious- " ness may be, it is nevertheless not *un*conscious " being to which those philosophers aspire, but a " *mode of conscious in*existence or *in*being."

The solemn query propounded in this letter never received an answer for he to whom it was addressed was prostrated on a bed of illness from which he did not rise on this side of eternity. In the course of the conversation at Stapleton Grove, respectful enquiries concerning his religious opinions were addressed to him. To these he freely and frankly replied. After his death, which melancholy event took place soon after the Stapleton Grove party, Dr. Carpenter wrote to Mr. John Foster, the well-known Essayist, and to Dr. Jerrard, the

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Principal of Bristol College, to request them to express their opinions from what they had heard in conversation with the deceased, as to whether he believed in the divinity of Christ and the resurrection and miracles. Mr. Foster replied that Rammohun Roy had expressd his belief in the resurrection of Christ, and in the Christian miracles generallay, and added " at the same time he said, " that the *internal* evidence of Christianity had " been the most decisive of his conviction. And " he gave his opinion, with some reasons for it, " that the miracles are not the part of the Christian " evidence, the best adapted to the conviction of " sceptics." Dr. Jerrard sent Dr. Carpenter the " following brief answer :—" The Rajah Ram- " mohun Roy expressed his belief in the divine " authority of Jesus Chrtst, as an accredited " messenger from God. He explicitly declared " that he believed in the miracles of Christ " generally, and particularly in his resurrection, " which he said was the foundation of the Christian " faith, and the great fact on which he rested " his own hopes of a resurrection." Mr. Estlin " the Surgeon who attended the Rajah on his " death-bed, thus jotted down in his journal :— " The Rajah said, he had denied the divinity of " Christ, but not of his commission."

This is all the evidence which Miss Carpenter adduces to prove that Rammohun Roy was a Christian. If by this it be meant that he was a thorough-going Bible-Christian, we are afraid, her position is untenable, but from a careful consideration of the testimony afforded by his writings, and his life, we have no hesitation in declaring our conviction that he was a Christian in the highest acceptation of the term, in as much as he tried to realize Christ in himself.

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Rammohun Roy did not believe in the infallibility of the Bible. He did not believe in the deity or divinity of Christ, but he believed that Christ was an inspired teacher of righteousness, and taught on the authority of the Most High God, and that what he taught was the Father's doctrine, not his. He regarded Christ as the greatest Reformer of the world, and the greatest soul of all the sons of men; one, before whom the majestic mind of a Vyas and a Shankaracharyya, a Kabeer and a Nanak, a Ramanand and a Chaitanaya must veil its face. He believed not that Christ was God, but that God's word was in Chirst.

Rammohun Roy might have possibly believed in the Christian miracles, but the same authority which makes this statement also assures us that he considered that "the miracles were not the part "of the Christian religion, the best adapted to the "conviction of sceptics," and "that the *internal* "evidence of Christianity had been the most "decisive of his conviction." It is, therefore, manifest that Rammohun Roy believed that the doctrines of Christianity, like the truths of Astronomy and Geology, rested not on the personal authority of the teacher, but on their own authority, on the authority of absolute truth. They rested not, in his opinion, on miracles, for if they did, Christianity would be in the same position as Hinduism, which he had denounced as a false religion. He thought that the more superstitious a nation was the stronger was the claim to miracles. The Hindus tell us that the Vedas were breathed out by Brahmá, and are a miracle; and that Vyas, the author of the Vedanta had miraculous inspiration, visions, and revelation. The Mahomedans likewise tell us that the Koran is a miracle, and that Mahomet held frequent

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communion with the spiritual world. In the religion of the Koles, the Khonds, and the Kanarese,all is miracle, and its authority according to miracle-mongers ought to be the best in the world. Rammohun Roy knew and felt that in resting Christianity on this basis, he would rest it on the same foundation not only with Hinduism and Mahomedanism but with the lowest form of Polytheism and Fetichism. If Rammohun Roy believed in the Christian miracles at all, he must have believed only in their possibility, not as transgressions of all law which God has made, but in their conformity with some law out of our reach. He must have regarded them as modes of divine manifestation not understood by man. Viewed in this light, life and death, mind and soul, are miracles.

We are free to confess that from his attendance at their chapels, and his known bias to their doctrines, the Unitarian Christians of England had some sort of right to claim him as a co-religionist. In the same manner the special patronage, which he thought proper to bestow on Vedantism, made it more than probable that he was a Vedantist. The laudatory terms, in which he was accustomed to speak of the doctrines of Mahomet, were calculated to produce an impression that he was a believer in the Koran. But it would be waste of time to argue that he was not a Mahomedan. Neither was he a Unitarian Christian, as the testimony of Dr Carpenter himself already quoted, proves, that while in London, although he attended the Unitarian chapels, yet *it was his system to avoid so far identifying himself with any religious body as to make himself answerable for their acts and opinions.* We would go further and say, though it may startle and

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scarify the Brahmos of the old *regime'*, that he was not a Vedantist. In truth, all speculation as to his belief in any religion founded on his advocacy of certain doctrines inculcated by it, or his attendance at its place of worship are obviously futile. Rammohun Roy was essentially a Theist. He was, as we observed in the pages of this *Review* more than twenty years ago, a religious Benthamite, and estimated the different creeds existing in the world, not according to his notion of their truth, or falsehood, but by his notion of their utility; according to their tendency, in his view, to promote the maximization of human happiness, and the minimization of human misery. His patronage, therfere, of any system of creed cannot be construed into a profession of it. He endeavoured to refine all gross and idolatrous systems into a system of pure monotheism. Clear subtle, daring and deep, he aimed at revolutionizing the religious world. Endowed with the faculty of generalization and animated by an earnest desire to sift and proclaim the truth, he had critically studied the Bible, the Koran, and the Vedas. He had arrived at the conclusion that the Vedas inculcated pure monotheism, and the idolatry practised by his countrymen was a corruption of the ancient faith. He had publicly renounced that idolatry and declared it his mission to exterminate it, and to resuscitate the primitive and rational religion of the Vedas. He had learnt to appreciate the code of morality inculcated in the Bible, as the purest and loftiest; and he had done his best to expound and promulgate it to his countrymen. His three Appeals to the Christian Public, his Exposition of the Upanishads, and his Persian work *Tohufutal Mowahedeen* attest the consummate ability and unwearying zeal, with

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which he enforced monotheism as the substratum of the three principal religious systems of the world. His great object was to engraft a kind of universal Unitarianism on the prevailing religion of his country. But we have said that he was not a Unitarian, his Unitarianism was essentially different from that of the Channings and the Carpenters, the Priestleys and the Parkers. His was a sort of Catholic Unitarianism. It was philosophical theism. It was Natural Religion, which so many philosophers of ancient Greece and Rome followed. His advocacy and support of the cardinal doctrines inculcated by different religions, though it might apparently evince his vacillation, was in truth the result of Utilitarianism. But while he advocated the monotheistic principles of the Bible, the Vedas, and the Koran, he spared no system of idolatry. With a moral courage, rarely to be met with among Hindu reformers, he denounced the idolatrous prejudices of Hinduism, Mahomedanism, and Christianity with merciless, but impartial, severity.

This uncompromising and unsparing iconoclast while striving to eliminate superstition and hero-worship from the religious systems he had studied, failed not to extract from them the simple and saving truths of monotheism.

It has been urged by some that Rammohun Roy had no positive religious convictions whatever, but was merely a free thinker. But his whole life is an entire refutation of this charge. True he belonged to no existing sect, nor did he seek to inaugurate a new system of religion. The great ambition of his life was to promote love to God and love to men. This he tried to ffect by bringing together men of existing ersuasions, irrespective of all distinctions of

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colour and creed, into a system of universal worship of the One True and Living God. This object is indicated in unmistakable language in the Trust-Deed of the Brahmo Somaj. "The "said messuage or building, land, tenements, "hereditaments, and premises, with their appur-"tenances, to be used, occupied, enjoyed, applied "and appropriated, as and for a place of public "meeting of all sects and descriptions of people "without distinction, as shall behave and conduct "themselves in an orderly, sober, religious, and "devout manner for the worship and adoration "of the eternal, unsearchable, and immutable "Being, who is the Author and Preserver of the "universe, but not under or by any other name, "designation, or title peculiarly used for and "applied to any particular being or beings by "any man or set of men whatsoever, and that no "graven image, statue, or sculpture, carving, pain-"ting, picture, portrait, or the likeness of anything, "shall be admitted within the said messuage, "building, land, tenements, hereditaments and "premises." It is, therefore, manifest that what Rammohun Roy wanted was not unity of creed or the creation of a separate reiigious community like that of the Brahmos, but to spread mono-theistic worship, to establish a universal church where all classes of people,—Hindus, Mahomedans, and Christians,—would be all alike welcome to unite in the worship of their supreme and com-mon Father. He was sincerely and unaffectedly religious. His was one of those happy and uncommon natures which could embrace all that is good in latitudinarianism, its fervent piety and its large philanthropy.

It is not our province to discuss the truth or falsity of the faith held by Rammohun Roy. We are

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not the apologists but the exponents of that faith. Rammohun Roy recognized no special or book-revelation. He held a record of religious truth, revealed by God to man, to be a moral impossibility. He fell back for such truth on the book of nature. He believed that the evidence of the existence and attributes of the Diety are written in the material as well as the moral world; in the frame-work and constitution of external nature, as well as in the intuitions of the human mind. He denied Original Sin and Depravity as his incisive answer to the lady already quoted shows. Though he recognized no inspired mediator or saviour, yet he believed that whenever a person with such claims has appeared, his inspiration has been the result of the beneficent impulse communicated by the Great Beneficence in proportion as the lessons He has inculacated have been wise and effective. He believed that the great business of his faith was to rest on the greatness and goodness of God. He also believed that the great First Cause of the universe is a wholly good, just, and beneficent Being, free and distinct from His works. He believed, as he himself preached, that "the Omnipotent God, "who is the only proper object of religious "veneration, is one and undivided in person;" that "in reliance on numerous promises found in "the sacred writings, we ought to entertain every "hope of enjoying the blessings of pardon from "the merciful Father, through repentance, which "is declared the only means of procuring for-"giveness for our failures;" and that "He leads "such as worship him in spirit to righteous con-"duct, and ultimately to salvation, through his "guiding influence which is called the Holy "Spirit."

We have now seen how Rammohun Roy has

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stood forth in advance of his age and has left on it a mark which will not be easily effaced. He was the Liberator of his country from prejudice and superstition—the great Teacher from whom his countrymen were to learn to emancipate themselves from the fetters of a false religion and to worship the one true and living God. The impetus, which he communicated to the national mind is bearing it onward. Let us trust that the intellectual and moral training of the rising generation of the Hindus may land them in that position of protest against idolatry, which Rammohun Roy took as the foundation of his creed. Let us trustfully and devoutly anticipate the day, when the bitterness of sectarianism shall have ceased, and when one faith shall have brought all nations of the earth into that happy union which is in the present day the dream of many Christians, and which was certainly not one of the least fervent aspirations of Rajah Rammohun Roy.

KISSORY CHAND MITTRA.

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